

THE
POURTRAICTURE
OF
HIS SACRED
MAJESTIE
IN
HIS SOLITVDES
AND
SUFFERINGS.

Together with His MAIESTIES Praiers
delivered to Doctor Juxon immediately
before His Death.

Rom. 8.

More then Conquerour, &c.

Bona agere, & mali pati, Regium est.





The Explanation of the EMBLEM.

*Ponderibus genus omne mali, probriq; gravatus,
Vixq; ferenda ferens, Palma ui Depressa, resurgo*

Though clogg'd with weights of miser
As Palm Depress'd, I higher rise.

Vixq; ferenda ferens, Palma ut Depressa, resurgo

*Ac, velut undarum Fluctus Ventiq;, furorem
Irati Populi Rupes immota repello.*

*Clarior è tenebris, caelestis stella, corusco
Victor & eternum-felici pace triumpho.*

*Auro Fulgentem rutilo gemmisq; micantem,
At curia Gravidam spernendo calco Coronam.*

*Spinosam, at ferri facilem, quo Spes mea, Christi
Auxilio, Nobis non est tractare molestum.*

*Eternam, fixis fidei, semperq; beatam
In Cælos oculis Specto, nobisq; paratam.*

*Quod Vanum est, sperno; quod Christi Gratia
Amplecti studium est: Virtutis Gloria merces.*

(præbet

As Palm Depressed, I higher rise.

*And as th' unmoved Rock out-brave's
The boist'rous winds and raging waves;
So triumph I. And in Dark night
Of sad Affliction's shine more bright.*

*That Splendid, but yet toilsom Crown
Regardlessly I trample down.*

*With joie I take this Crown of thorn,
Though sharp, yet easie to be born.*

*That glorious happy Crown, I see,
Depriv'd whereof I cannot be.*

*I slight vain things; and do embrace
Glorie, the just reward of Grace.*

G.

THE

MAINTENANCE

OF

THE

OF

OF

OF

OF

OF



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E I K Ω N B A Σ I A I K H

I. *Upon His Majesties calling this last Parliament.*

His last Parliament I called, not more by others advice, and necessity of My affairs, than by My own choice and inclination; who have alwaies thought the right way of Parliaments most safe for My Crown, as best pleasing to My People: And although I was not forgetfull of those sparks which some mens distempers formerly studied to kindle in Parliaments (which by forbearing to convene for some years, I hoped to have extinguished) yet resolving with My self to give all just satisfaction to modest and sober desires, and to redresse all publique grievances in Church and State; I hoped by My freedome, and their moderation, to prevent all misunderstandings and miscarriages in this: In which, as I feared affairs would meet with some passion and prejudice in other men, so I resolved they should finde least of them in My self; not

doubting, but by the weight of Reason I should counterpoize the over-ballancings of any Factions.

I was, indeed, sorry to hear, with what partiality and popular heat Elections were carried in many places; yet hoping that the gravity and discretion of other Gentlemen would allay and fix the Commons to a due temperament (guiding some mens wel-meaning zeal by such rules of moderation as are best both to preserve and restore the health of all States, and Kingdoms :) No man was better pleased with the convening of this Parliament, than my self; who knowing best the largenes of my own Heart toward my Peoples good and just contentment. pleased my self most in that good and firm understanding, which would hence grow between me and my People.

All Jealousies being laid aside, my own and my Childrens Interests gave me many obligations to seek and preserve the Love and welfare of my Subjects. The only temporal blessing that is left to the ambition of just Monarchs, as their greatest honor and safety, next Gods protection; I cared not to lessen my self in some things of my wonted Prerogative, since I knew J could be no loser, if J might gain but a recompence in my Subjects affections.

J intended not only to oblige my friends but

but Mine enemies also: exceeding even the desires of those, that were factiously discontented, if they did but pretend to any modest and sober sense.

The *odium* and offences which some mens rigour or remissness in Church and State, had contracted upon My Government, I resolved to have expiated by such Laws, and regulations for the future, as might not onely rectifie what was amiss in practice, but supply what was defective in the constitution: No man having a greater zeal to see Religion settled, and preserved in Truth, Unity, and Order, then My self; whom it most concerns both in piety and policy, as knowing, that, No flames of civil dissentions are more dangerous then those which make religious pretensions the grounds of Factions.

I resolved to reform, what I should by free and full advice in Parliament be convinced to be amiss; and to grant whatever My Reason and Conscience told Me, was fit to be desired; I wish I had kept My self within those bounds, and not suffered My own Judgement to have been over-borne in some things, more by others Importunities, than their Arguments; My confidence had less betrayed My self, and My Kingdoms, to those advantages, which some men sought for, who wanted nothing but power, and occasion to do mischief.

But our sins being ripe, there was no preventing of Gods Justice, from reaping that glory in our Calamities, which we rob'd him of in our Prosperity.

For thou, O Lord, hast made us see, that Resolutions of future Reforming doe not alwaies satisfie thy Justice, nor prevent thy Vengeance for former mis'carriages.

Our sinnes have overlaid our hopes; Thou hast taught us to depend on thy mercies to forgive, not on our purpose to amend.

When thou hast vindicated thy glory by thy Judgments, and hast shewed us how unsafe it is to offend thee, upon presumptions afterwards to please thee; Then I trust thy mercies will restore those blessings to us, which we have so much abused as to force thee to deprive us of them.

Our want of timely repentance of our sins, Thou givest us cause to repent of those Remedies we too late apply.

Yet I doe not repent of my calling this last Parliament; because, O Lord, I did it with an upright intention, to Thy glory, and my Peoples good.

The miseries which have ensued upon me and my Kingdoms, are the just effects of thy displeasure upon us; and may be yet (through thy mercy) preparatives of us to future blessings, and better hearts to enjoy them.

O Lord, though thou hast deprived us of many former comforts; yet grant me and my people the benefit of our afflictions, and thy chastisements; that thy rod as well as thy staffe may comfort us: Then shall we dare to account them the strokes not of an Enemy, but a Father: when thou givest us those humble affections, that measure of patience in repentance, which becomes thy children; I shall have no cause to repent the miseries this Parliament hath occasioned, when by them thou hast brought me and my People, unfeignedly to repent of the sins we have committed.

Thy Grace is infinitely better with our sufferings, then our Peace could be with our sins.

O thou soveraign goodnesse and wisdom, who over-rulest all our Counsels; over-rule also all our hearts; That the worse things we suffer by thy Justice, the better we may be by thy mercy.

As our sins have turned our Antidotes into Poison, so let thy grace turn our Poisons into Antidotes.

As the sins of our Peace disposed us to this unhappy War, so let this War prepare us for thy blessed Peace.

That although I have but troublesome Kingdoms here, yet I may attain to that Kingdome of Peace in my Heart, and in thy Heaven, which Christ hath purchased, and thou wilt give to thy Servant (though a Sinner) for my Saviours sake, Amen.

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2. Upon the Earl of Straffords Death.

I Looked upon My Lord of *Strafford*, as a Gentleman, whose great abilities might make a Prince rather afraid, then ashamed to imploy him, in the greatest affairs of State.

For those were prone to create in him great confidence of undertakings, and this was like enough to betray him to great errors, and many enemies: Whereof he could not but contract good store, while moving in so high a sphere, and with so vigorous a lustre, he must needs (as the Sun) raise many envious exhalations, which condensed by a popular *odium*, were capable to cast a cloud upon the brightest merit and integrity.

Though I cannot in My Judgment approve all he did, driven (it may be) by the necessities of times, and the Temper of that People, more than led by his own disposition to any height and rigour of actions: yet I could never be convinced of any such criminousnes in him, as willingly to expose his life to the stroke of Justice, and malice of his enemies.

I never met with a more unhappy conjuncture of affairs, then in the businesse of that
unfor

unfortunate Earl : when between My own unsatisfiedness in Conscience, and a necessity (as some told Me) of satisfying the importunities of some People ; I was perswaded by those, that I thinke wished Me well, to chuse rather what was safe, than what seemed just ; preferring the outward peace of My Kingdoms with Men, before that inward exactness of Conscience before God.

And indeed, I am so farre from excusing or denying that compliance on My part (for plenary consent it was not) to his destruction, whom in My Judgment I thought not, by any clear Law, guilty of death : That I never bare any touch of Conscience with greater regret : which, as a sign of My repentance, I have often with sorrow confessed both to God and men, as an act of so sinfull frailty, that it discovered more a fear of Man, than of God, whose name and place on Earth no Man is worthy to bear, who will avoid inconveniences of State, by acts of so high injustice, as no publike convenience can expiate or compensate.

I see it a bad exchange to wound a mans own Conscience, thereby to salve State sores ; to calm the storms of popular discontents, by stirring up a tempest in a mans own bosome.

Nor hath Gods Justice failed in the event,

and sad consequences, to shew the world the fallacy of that Maxime, *Better one man perish (though unjustly) than the People be displeased, or destroyed.*

For, in all likelihood, I could never have suffered, with My People, greater calamities (yet with greater comfort) had I vindicated *Straffords* Innocency, at least by denying to sign that destructive *Bill*, according to that justice, which My Conscience suggested to Me, than I have done since I gratified some mens unthankfull importunities with so cruell a favour. And I have observed, that those, who counselled Me to sign that *Bill*, have been so farre from receiving the rewards of such ingratiations with the People, that no men have been harassed and crushed more than they: He only hath been least vexed by them, who counselled Me, not to consent against the vote of My own Conscience; I hope God hath forgiven Me and them, the sinfull rashnesse of that busines.

To which being in My soul so fully conscious, those Judgements God hath pleased to send upon Me, are so much the more welcome, as a means (I hope) which his mercy hath sanctified so to Me, as to make Me repent of that unjust Act (for so it was to Me) and for the future to teach Me. That the best rule of policy is to prefer the doing of Justice before

before all enjoyments, and the peace of My Conscience before the preservation of My Kingdoms.

Nor hath any thing more fortified My resolutions against all those violent importunities, which since have sought to gain a like consent from Me, to Acts, wherein My Conscience is unsatisfied, then the sharp touches I have had for what passed Me, in My Lord of *Straffords* Businesse.

Not that I resolved to have imploied him in My affairs, against the advice of My Parliament, but I would not have had any hand in his Death, of whose Guiltlesnes I was better assured, than any man living could be.

Nor were the Crimes objected against him so clear, as after a long and fair hearing to give convincing satisfaction to the major part of both Houses; especially that of the Lords, of whom scarce a third part were present, when the Bill passed that House: And for the House of Commons, many Gentlemen, disposed enough to diminish My Lord of *Straffords* greatnesse and power, yet unsatisfied of his guilt in Law, durst not Condemn him to die: who for their Integrity in their Votes, were by Posting their Names, exposed to the popular calumny, hatred, and fury; which grew then so exorbitant in their clamours for *Justice*, (that is, to have both My self and the two Houses

Houses Vote, and doe as they would have us) that many ('tis thought) were rather terrified to concur with the condemning Party, than satisfied that of right they ought so to do.

And that after Act vacating the Authority of the precedent, for future imitation, sufficiently tels the world, that some remorse touched even his most implacable Enemies, as knowing he had very hard measure, and such as they would be very loath should be repeated to themselves.

This tendernes and regret I find in My soul, for having had any hand (and that very unwillingly God knows) in shedding one mans blood unjustly (though under the colour and formalities of Justice, and pretences of avoiding publick mischiefs) which may, I hope, be some evidence before God and Man, to all Posterity, that I am farre from bearing justly the vast load and guilt of all that blood which hath been shed in this unhappy War; which some men will needs charge on *Me*, to ease their own souls, who am, and ever shall be, more afraid to take away any mans life unjustly, than to lose My own.

But thou, O God of infinite mercies, forgive Me that act of sinfull compliance, which hath greater aggravations upon Me than any man. Since I had not the least temptation of envy, or malice

malice against him, and by my place should, at least so far, have been a preserver of him, as to have denied my consent to his destruction.

O Lord, I acknowledge my transgression, and my sin is ever before me.

Deliver me from blood-guiltinesse, O God, thou God of my salvation, and my tongue shall sing of thy righteousness.

Against thee have I sinned, and done this evil in thy sight, for thou sawest the contradiction between my heart and my hand.

Tet cast me not away from thy presence, purge me with the blood of my Redeemer, and I shall be clean; wash me with that precious effusion, and I shall be whiter then snow.

Teach me to learn Righteousnesse by thy Judgements, and to see my frailty in thy Justice: while I was perswaded by shedding one mans blood to prevent after-troubles, thou hast for that, among other sins, brought upon me, and upon my Kingdoms, great, long and heavy troubles.

Make me to prefer Justice, which is thy will, before all contrary clamours, which are but the discoveries of mans injurious will.

It is too much that they have once overcome me, to please them by displeasing thee: O never suffer me for any reason of State, to go against my Reason of Conscience, which is highly to sin against thee, the God of Reason, and Judge of our Consciences.

What

What ever, O Lord, thou seeſt fit to deprive me of, yet reſtore unto me the joy of thy Salvation, and ever uphold me with thy free Spirit; which ſubjects my will to none, but thy light of Reason, Juſtice, and Religion which ſhines in My ſoul, for thou deſireſt truth in the inward parts, and Integrity in the outward expreſſions.

Lord hear the voice of thy Sons, and my Saviours Bloud, which ſpeaks better things; O make me, and my People, to hear the voice of Joy and Gladneſſe, that the bones which thou haſt broken, may rejoice in thy ſalvation.

3. Upon His Majesties going to the House of Commons.

MY going to the House of Commons to demand Juſtice upon the five Members, was an act, which My Enemies loaded with all the obloquies and exaſperations they could.

It filled indifferent men with great jealousies and fears; yea, and many of My Friends reſented it as a motion riſing rather from Paſſion than Reason, and not guided with ſuch diſcretion, as the touchineſſe of thoſe times required.

But

But these men knew not the just motives, and pregnant grounds, with which I thought My self so furnished, that there needed nothing to such evidence, as I could have produced against those I charged, save only a free and legall Triall, which was all I desired.

Nor had I any temptation of displeasure, or revenge against those mens persons, further then I had discovered those (as I thought) unlawfull correspondencies they had used, and engagements they had made, to embroil My Kingdoms: of all which I missed but little to have produced writings under some mens own hands, who were the chief contrivers of the following Innovations.

Providence would not have it so, yet I wanted not such probabilities as were sufficient to raise jealousies in any Kings heart, who is not wholly stupid and neglective of the publick peace, which to preserve by calling in Question half a dozen men, in a fair and legall way (which God knows was all My design) could have amounted to no worse effect, had it succeeded. then either to do Me, and My Kingdom right, in case they had been found guilty; or else to have cleared their Innocency, and removed My suspicions; which, as they were not raised out of any malice; so neither were they in reason to be smothered.

What

What flames of discontent this spark (though I sought by all speedy and possible means to quench it) soon kindled, all the world is witness: The aspersion which some men cast upon that action, as if I had designed by force to assault the House of Commons, and invade their priviledge, is so false, that as God best knows, I had no such intent; so none that attended could justly gather from any thing I then said, or did, the least intimation of any such thoughts.

That I went attended with some Gentlemen, as it was no unwonted thing for the Majesty and safety of a King so to be attended, especially in discontented times; so were my followers at that time short of my ordinary Guard, and no way proportionable to hazard a tumultuary conflict. Nor were they more scared at my coming, then I was un-assured of not having some affronts cast upon me, if I had none with me to preserve a reverence to me: For many people had (at that time) learned to think those hard thoughts, which they have since abundantly vented against me, both by words and deeds.

The summe of that businesse was this.

Those men, and their adherents were then looked upon by the affrighted vulgar, as greater protectors of their Laws and Liberties, then my self, and so worthier of their protection.

protection. I leave them to God, and their own Consciences, who, if guilty of evil machinations; no present impunity, or popular vindications of them will be subterfuge sufficient to rescue them from those exact Tribunals.

To which, in the obstructions of Justice among men, We must religiously appeal, as being an argument to us Christians of that after un-avoidable judgment, which shall re-judge what among men is but corruptly decided, or not at all.

I endeavoured to have prevented, if God had seen fit, those future Commotions, which I fore-saw, would in all likelihood follow some mens activity (if not restrained) and so now hath done to the undoing of many thousands, the more is the pity.

But to over-aw the freedom of the Houses, or to weaken their just Authority by any violent impressions upon them, was not at all my design: I thought I had so much Justice and Reason on my side, as should not have needed so rough assistance; and I was resolved rather to bear the repulse with patience, than to use such hazardous extremities.

Ent thou, O Lord, art My Witnesse in Heaven, and in My heart: If I have purposed any violence or oppression against the Innocent: or if there were any such wickednesse in My thoughts.

Then

Then let the enemy persecute My soul, and tread my life to the ground, and lay mine honour in the dust.

Thou that see'st not as man seeth, but looke'st beyond all popular appearances, searching the heart, and trying the reins, and bringing to light the hidden things of darknesse, shew thy self.

Let not my afflictions be esteemed (as with wise and godly men they cannot be) any argument of my sinne, in that matter; more then their Impunity among good men is any sure token of their Innocency.

But forgive them wherein they have done amisse, though they are not punished for it in this world.

Save thy servant from the privy conspiracies, and open violence of bloody and unreasonable men, according to the uprightness of my heart, and the innocency of my hands in this matter.

Plead my cause, and maintain my right, O thou that sittest in the Throne, judging rightly, that thy Servant may ever rejoyce in thy salvation.

4. Upon the Insolency of the Tumults.

I Never thought any thing (except our sins) more ominously presaging all these mischiefs, which have followed, then those Tumults in *London* and *Westminster*, soon after the convening of this Parliament; which were not like a storm at Sea (which yet wants not its terrour) but like an Earth-quake, shaking the very foundations of all; then which nothing in the world hath more of horreur.

As it is one of the most convincing Arguments that there is a God, while his power sets bounds to the raging of the Sea: so 'tis no lesse, that he restraines the madnesse of the people. Nor doth any thing portend more Gods displeasure against a Nation, then when he suffers the confluence and clamours of the vulgar, to passe all boundaries of Laws, and reverence to Authority.

Which those Tumults did to so high degrees of Insolence, that they spared not to invade the Honour and Freedome of the two Houses, menacing, reproaching, shaking, yea, & assaulting some Members of both Houses, as they fancied, or disliked them: Nor did they forbear most rude and unseemly deportments

both in contemptuous words and actions, to My Self and My Court.

Nor was this a short fit or two of shaking, as an ague, but a quotidian fever, alwayes encreasing to higher inflammation, impatient of any mitigation, restraint, or remission.

First, they must be a guard against those fears which some men scared themselves and others withal; when indeed nothing was more to be feared and lesse to be used by wise men, then those tumultuary confluxes of mean and rude people, who are taught first to Petition, then to protect, then to dictate, at last to command and overawe the Parliament.

All obstructions in Parliament (that is, all freedome in differing in Votes, and debating matters with reason and candour) must be taken away with these Tumults: By these must the House be purged, and all rotten Members (as they please to count them) cast out: By these the obstinacy of men resolved to discharge their consciences must be subdued, by these all factious, seditious, and schismaticall proposals against Government Ecclesiasticall or Civil, must be backed and abbetted, til they prevailed.

Generally, who ever had most mind to bring forth confusion and ruine both of Church and State, used the midwifery of those Tumults; whose riot and impatience was such, that they

would

would not stay the repining and season of Counsels, or fair production of Acts, in the order, gravity and deliberatenesse, besitting a Parliament; but ripped up with barbarous cruelty, and forcibly cut out abortive Votes, such as their Inviters and Incouragers most fancied.

Yea, so enormous and detestable were their outrages, that no sober man could be without an infinite shame and sorrow to see them so tolerated, and connived at by some, countenanced, incouraged, and applauded by others.

What good man had not rather want any thing he most desired, for the Publique good, then obtain it by such unlawfull and irreligious means? But mens passions, and Gods directions seldom agree; violent designs and motions must have sutable engines; such as too much attend their own ends, seldom confine themselves to Gods means. Force must crowd in, what Reason will not leade.

Who were the chief Demagogues and Patrons of Tumults, to send for them, to flatter and embolden them, to direct and turn their clamorous importunities, some men yet living are too conscous to pretend ignorance: God in his due time will let these see; that those were no fit means to be used for attaining his ends.

But, as it is no strange thing for the sea to
C 2 rage,

rage when strong winds blow upon it; so neither for Multitudes to become insolent, when they have Men of some reputation for parts and piety to set them on.

That which made their rudeness most formidable, was, That many Complaints being made, and Messages sent by My Self and some of both Houses; yet no order for redress could be obtained with any vigour & efficacy, proportionable to the malignity of that now far-spread disease, and predominant mischief.

Such was some mens stupidity, that they feared no inconvenience: Others petulancy, that they joyed to see their betters shamefully outraged, and abused, while they knew their only security consisted in vulgar flattery: So insensible were they of Mine, or the two Houses common safety and honours.

Nor could ever any order be obtained, impartially to examine, censure, and punish the known Boutefeus; and impudent Incendiaries, who boasted of the influence they had, and used to convoke those Tumults as their advantages served.

Yea, some (who should have been wiser State-men) owned them as friends, commending their Courage, Zeal and Industry; which to sober men could seem no better then that of the Devil, who goes about seeking whom he may deceive, and devour.

I confesse, when I found such a deafnesse, that no Declaration from the Bishops, who were first foully insolenced and assaulted; nor yet from other Lords and Gentlemen of Honour; not yet from My Self, could take place for the due represson of these Tumults; and securing not only Our Freedom in Parliament, but Our very Persons in the streets; I thought My Self not bound by My presence, to provoke them to higher boldness and contempts; I hoped by My withdrawing to give time, both for the ebbing of their tumultuous fury, and others regaining some degrees of modesty and sober sense.

Some may interpret it as an effect of Pusillanimity for any man for popular errors to desert his publique station. But I think it a hardinesse, beyond true valour, for a wise man to set himself against the breaking in of a Sea; which to resist, at present, threatens imminent danger; but to withdraw, gives it space to spend its fury, and gains a fitter time to repair the breach. Certainly a Gallant man had rather fight to great disadvantages for number and place in the field, in an orderly way, then skuffle with an undisciplined rabble

Some suspected and affirmed, that I meditated a War (when I went from *Whitehall* only to redeem My Person, and Conscience from violence) God knows, I did not then

think of a War. Nor will any prudent man conceive that I would by so many former, and some after Acts, have so much weakned My Self, if I had purposed to engage in a War, which to decline by all means, I denied My Self in so many particulars: Tis evident I had then no Army to fly unto for protection, or vindication.

Who can blame Me, or any other, for withdrawing our selves from the daily baitings of the Tumults, not knowing whether their fury and discontent might not fly so high, as to worry and tear those in pieces, whom as yet they but plaid with in their paws? God, who is My sole Judge, is My Witnesse in Heaven, that I never had any thoughts of going from My House at *Whitehall*, if I could have had but any reasonable fair Quarter; I was resolved to bear much, and did so, but I did not think My Self bound to prostitute the Majesty of My Place and Person, the safety of My Wife and Children, to those, who are prone to insult most, when they have objects and opportunity most capable of their rudenesse and petulancy.

But this businesse of the Tumults (whereof some have given already an account to God, others yet living know themselvs desperately guilty) Time, and the guilt of many, hath so smothered up, & buried, that I think it best

to leave it, as it is; Only I believe the just Avenger of all disorders, will in time make those men, and that City, see their sin in the glasse of their punishment. 'Tis more then an even-lay that they may one day see themselves punished by that way they offended.

Had this Parliament, as it was in its first Election and Constitution, safe full and free, the Members of both Houses being left to their freedom of Voting, as in all reason, honour, and Religion, they should have been; I doubt not but things would have been so carried, as would have given no lesse content to all good men, then they wished or expected.

For, I was resolved to hear reason in all things, and to consent to it so far as I could comprehend it: but as Swine are to Gardens and orderly Plantations, so are Tumults to Parliaments, and Plebeian concourses to public Councels, turning all into disorders and sordid confusions.

I am prone sometimes to think, That had I called this Parliament to any other place in *England* (as I might opportunely enough have done) the sad consequences in all likely hood, with Gods blessing, might have been prevented. A Parliament would have been welcome in any place; no place afforded such confluence of vaious and vitious humours, as that where it was unhappily convened. But we

must leave all to God, who orders our disorders, and magnifies his wisdom most, when our follies and miseries are most discovered.

But thou O Lord art My refuge and defence, to thee I may safely flie, who rulest the raging of the Sea, and the madnesse of the People.

The flouds, O Lord, the flouds are come in upon Me, and are ready to overwhelme Me.

I look upon My sins, and the sins of My people, (which are the tumults of our soules against thee O Lord) as the just cause of these popular inundations which thou permittest to overbeare all the banks of loyalty, modesty, Laws, Justice, and Religion.

But thou that gatheredst the waters into one place, and madest the drye land to appear, and after didst assuage the floud which drowned the world, by the word of thy powers; Rebuke those beasts of the people, and deliver Me from the rudenesse and strivings of the multitude.

Restore, we beseech thee, unto us, the freedomes of our Councels and Parliaments, make us unpassionately to see the light of Reason, and Religion, and withall order, and gravity to follow it, as it becomes Men and Christians, so shall we praise thy name, who art the God of Order and Councell.

What man cannot, or will not repressse, thy omnipotent Justice can and will.

O Lord, give them that are yet living, a timely sense and sorrow for their great sin, whom thou knowest guilty of raising or not suppressing those disorders: Let shame here, and not suffering hereafter be their punishment.

Set bounds to our passions by Reason, to our errors by Truth, to our seditions by Lawes duely executed, and to our schismes by Charity, that we may be as thy Jerusalem, a City at unity in it self.

*This grant, O My God, in thy good time for
Jesus Christ's sake, Amen.*

5. Upon

5. *Upon His Majesties passing the Bill for the Trienniall Parliaments: And after settling this, during the pleasure of the two Houses.*

THat the world might be fully confirmed in My purposes at first, to contribute, what in Justice, Reason, Honour, and Conscience, I could, to the happy successe of this Parliament, (which had in Me no other designe but the General good of My Kingdoms) I willingly passed the BILL for Trienniall Parliaments: which, as gentle and seasonable Physick, might (if well applyed) prevent any distempers from getting any head of prevailing; especially, if the remedy proved not a disease beyond all remedy.

I conceived, this Parliament would find work with convenient recesses for the first three years; But I did not imagine that some men would thereby have occasioned more work then they found to doe, by undoing so much as they found well done to their hands. Such is some mens activity that they will needs make work rather then want it; & chuse to be doing amisse, rather then do nothing.

When

When that first Act seemed too scanty to satisfy some mens fears, and compasse publique affairs; I was perswaded to grant that BILL of Sitting during the pleasure of the Houses, which amounted in some mens sense to as much as the perpetuating this Parliament. By this Act of highest confidence, I hoped for ever to shut out, and lock the dore upon all present Jealousies, and future mistakes: I confesse I did not thereby intend to shut My Self out of dores, as some men have now requited Me.

True, It was an Act unparallel'd by any of My Predecessours; yet cannot in reason admit of any worse interpretation then this, of an extreme confidence I had, that My Subjects would not make ill use of an Act, by which I declared so much to trust them, as to deny My Self in so high a point of My Prerogative.

For, good Subjects wil never think it just or fit, that My condition should be worse by My bettering theirs: Nor indeed would it have been so in the events, if some men had known as well with moderation to use, as with earnestnesse to desire advantages of doing good, or evill.

A continual Parliament (I thought) would but keep the Common-weal in tune, by preserving Laws in their due execution and vigour, wherein My interest lies more then any mans,

mans, since by those Laws, My Rights as a KING, would be preserved no lesse then My Subjects; which is all I desired: More then the Law gives Me I would not have, and lesse the meanest Subject should not.

Some (as I have heard) gave it out, that I soon repented Me of that settling Act: and many would needs perswade Me, I had cause so to do; but I could not easily nor suddenly suspect such ingratitude in men of Honour. That the more I granted them, the lesse I should have, and enjoy with them. I still counted My Self undiminished by My largest concessions, if by them I might gain and confirm the love of My People.

Of which, I do not yet despair, but that God will still blesse Me with the increase of it: when Men shall have more leisure, and lesse prejudice; that so with unpassionate representations they may reflect upon those (as I think) not more Princely then friendly contributions, which I granted towards the perpetuating of their happinesse, who are now only miserable in this, That some mens ambition will not give them leave to enjoy what I intended for their good.

Nor do I doubt, but that in Gods due time, the Loyal and cleared affections of My People will strive to return such retributions of Honour, and love to Me, or My Posterity, as may
fully

fully compensate both the acts of My confidence and My sufferings for them; which (God knows) have been neither few, nor small, nor short; occasioned chiefly by a persuasion I had, that I could not grant too much, or distrust too little, to Men, that being professedly My Subjects, pretended singular piety, and religious strictness.

The Injury of all Injuries is, That which some men will needs load Me withall; as if I were a wilfull and resolved Occasioner of My own and My Subjects miseries; while (as they confidently, but (God knows) falsely divulge) I repining at the establishment of this Parliament, endeavoured by force and open hostility to undo what by My Royal assent I had done. Sure it had argued a very short sight of things, and extream fatuity of mind in Me, so far to bind My own hands at their request, if I had shortly meant to have used a Sword against them. God knows, though I had then a sense of Injuries; yet not such, as to think them worth vindicating by a War: I was not then compelled, as since, to injure My Self by their not using favours with the same candour wherewith they were conferred. The Tumults indeed threatened to abuse all Acts of Grace, and turn them into wantonness; but I thought at length their own fears, whose black arts first raised up those turbulent Spirits would

would force them to conjure them down a gain.

Nor if I had justly resented any indignitie out upon Me, or others, was I then in any capacity to have taken just revenge in an Hostile and Warlike way upon those, whom I knew so well fortified in the love of the meaner sort of the people, that I could not have given My Enemies greater, and more desired advantage against Me, then by so unprincely Inconstancy, to have assaulted them with Arms, thereby to scatter them, whom but lately I had so solemnly settled by an Act of Parliament.

God knows, I longed for nothing more then that My Self, and My Subjects might quietly enjoy the fruits of My many condescendings.

It had been a Course full of sin, as well as of Hazard, and dishonour for Me to go about the cutting up of that by the Sword which I had so lately planted, so much (as I thought) to My Subjects content, and Mine own too, in all probability: If some men had not feared where no fear was, whose security consisted in scaring others.

I thank God, I know so well the sincerity and uprightnesse of My own heart, in passing that great Bill, which exceeded the very thoughts of former times; That although I may seem lesse a Politician to men, yet I need

no secret distinctions or evasions before God. Nor had I any reservations in My own Soul, when I passed it; nor repentings after, till I saw that My letting some men go up to the Pinnacle of the Temple, was a temptation to them to cast Me down head-long.

Concluding, that without a miracle, Monarchy it self, together with Me, could not but be dashed in pieces, by such a precipitious fall as they intended. Whom God in mercy forgive, and make them see at length, That as many Kingdomes as the Devil shewed our Saviour, and the glory of them, (if they could be at once enjoyed by them) are not worth the gaining, by wayes of sinfull ingratitude and dishonour, which hazards a Soul worth more Worlds then this hath Kingdomes.

But God hath hitherto preserved Me, and made Me to see, That it is no strange thing for men, left to their own passions, either to do much evil themselves, or abuse the over-much goodnesse of others, whereof an ungratefull Surfeit is the most desperate and incurable disease.

I cannot say properly that I repent of that Act, since I have no reflections upon it as a sin of My will, though an errour of too charitable a judgement: Only I am sorry other mens eyes should be evil, because mine were good.

To

To Thee (O my God) doe I still appeale, whose All-discerning Justice sees through all the disguises of mens pretentions, and deceitfull darknesse of their hearts.

Thou gavest Me a heart to grant much to My Subjects; and now I need a Heart fitted to suffer much from some of them.

Thy will be done, though never so much to the crossing of ours, even when we hope to doe what might be most conformable to thine and theirs too; who pretended they aimed at nothing else.

Let thy grace teach Me wisely to enjoy as well the frustratings, as the fulfillings of My best hopes, and most specious desires.

I see while I thought to allay others fears, I have raised Mine owne; and by settling them, have unsetled My Self.

Thus have they requited Me evil for good, and hatred for My good will towards them.

O Lord, be thou My Pilot in this dark and dangerous storme, which neither admits My returne to the Port whence I set out, nor My making any other, with that safety and honour which I designe.

'Tis easie for Thee to keep Me safe in thy love and confidence of My people; nor is it hard for Thee to preserve Me amidst the unjust hatred and jealousnesse of too many, which thou hast suffered so far to prevaile upon Me, as to be able to pervert and abuse My acts of greatest Indul-

gence

gence to them, and assurance of them.

But no favours from Me can make others more guilty then My self may be, of misusing those many and great ones, which thou, O Lord, hast conferred My on Me.

I beseech Thee give Me and them such Repen- tance, as thou wilt accept, and such Grace as we may not abuse.

Make Me so far happy as to make a right use of others abuses, and by their failings of Me, to re- flect, with a reforming displeasure, upon My offen- ces against Thee.

So, although by My sins I am by other mens sins deprived of thy temporall blessings, yet I may be happy to enjoy the comfort of thy mercies, which often raise the greatest sufferers to be the most glo- rious Saints.

D

6. Upon

6. Upon His Majesties retirement from Westminster.

WITH what unwillingnesse I withdrew from *Westminster*, let them judge who, unprovided of tackling, and victuall, are forced to Sea by a storm; yet better do so, then venture splitting or sinking on a Lee shore.

I stayed at *Whitehall*, till I was driven away by shame more then fear; to see the barbarous rudenesse of those Tumults, who resolved they would take the boldnesse to demand any thing, and not leave either My Self, or the Members of Parliament, the liberty of our Reason and Conscience, to deny them any thing.

Nor was this intolerable oppression My case alone (though chiefly Mine) For the Lords and Commons might be content to be overruled by the *major* part of both Houses, when they had used each their own freedom.

Whose agreeing Votes were not by any Law or reason conclusive to My Judgement; nor can they include, or carry with them My consent, whom they represent not in any kind. Nor am I further bound to agree with the Votes of both Houses, then I see them agree

with

with the will of God, with My just Rights, as a King, and the generall good of My People. I see that as many men they are seldome of one minde; and I may oft see, that the major part of them are not in the right.

I had formerly declared to sober and moderate mindes, how desirous I was to give all just content, when I agreed to so many Bills, which had been enough to secure and satisfie all: If some mens Hydropick insatiablenes had not learned to thirst the more by how much more they drank; whom no fountain of royal bounty was able to overcome; so resolved they seemed, either utterly to exhaust it, or barbarously to obstruct it.

Sure it ceases to be Council, when not Reason is used, as to men to perswade; but force and terrour as to beasts, to drive and compell men to assent to what ever tumultuary patrons shall project. He deserves to be a slave without pittie or redemption, that is content to have the rationall Sovereignty of his Soul, and liberty of his will, and words so captivated.

Nor do I think My Kingdoms so considerable as to preserve them with the forfeiture of that freedom; which cannot be denied Me as a King, because it belongs to Me as a man, and a Christian, owning the dictates of none, but God, to be above Me, as obliging Me to con-

sent. Better for Me to die enjoying this Empire of My soul, which subjects Me only to God, so farre as by Reason or Religion he directs Me, then live with the Title of a King, if it should carry such a vassalage with it, as not to suffer Me to use My Reason and Conscience, in which I declare as a King, to like or dislike.

So farre am I from thinking the Majesty of the Crown of *England* to be bound by any Coronation Oath, in a blind and brutish formality, to consent to whatsoever its Subjects in Parliament shall require; as some men will needs infer; while denying Me any power of a negative voice as King, they are not ashamed to seek to deprive Me of the liberty of using My Reason with a good Conscience, which themselves, and all the Commons of *England* enjoy proportionable to their influence on the publick; who would take it very ill to be urged; not to deny, whatever My self as King, or the House of Peers with Me should, not so much desire as enjoin them to passe. I think My Oath fully discharged in that point by My governing onely by such Laws, as My People with the House of Peers have Chosen, and My self have consented to. I shall never think My self conscientiously tied to go as oft against My Conscience, as I should consent to such new Proposals,

fals, which My Reason, in Justice, Honour and Religion bids Me deny.

Yet so tender I see some men are of their being subject to Arbitrary Government (that is, the Law of anothers will, to which themselves give no consent) that they care not with how much dishonor and absurdity they make their King the only man that must be subject to the will of others, without having power left Him, to use His own Reason, either in Person, or by any Representation.

And if My dissentings at any time were (as some have suspected, and uncharitably avowed out of error, opinion, activeness, weaknesse, or wilfulnesse, and what they call Obstinacy in Me (which not true judgement of things, but some vehement prejudice or passion hath fixed on My minde) yet can no man think it other then the Badge and method of slavery, by savage rudenes, and importunate obtrusions of violence, to have the mist of His Error and Passion dispelled, which is a shadow of Reason, and must serve those that are destitute of the substance. Sure that man cannot be blameable to God or man, who seriously endeavours to see the best reason of things, and faithfully follows what he takes for Reason: The uprightnes of his intentions will excuse the possible failings of his understanding; if a Pilot at Sea cannot see the Pole-star, it can

be no fault in him to steere his course by such stars as do best appear to him. It argues rather those men to be conscious of their defects of Reason, and convincing Arguments, who call in the assistance of meer force to carry on the weaknesse of their Councils, and Proposals. I may, in the Truth and uprightness of My heart, protest before God and Man; that I never wilfully opposed, or denied any thing, that was in a fair way, after full and free debates propounded to Me, by the two Houses, Further then I thought in good reason I might, and was bound to do.

Nor did any thing ever please Me more, then when My judgment so concurred with theirs, that I might with good Conscience consent to them: yea, in many things where not absolute and morall necessity of Reason, but temporary convenience in point of Honour was to be considered. I chose rather to deny My Self, then them; as preferring that which they thought necessary for My Peoples good, before what I saw but convenient for My Self.

For I can be content to recede much from My own Interests, and Personall Rights, of which I conceive My Self to be Master: but in what concerns Truth, Justice, the Rights of the Church, and My Crown, together with the generall good of My Kingdomes; (all which

which I am bound to preserve as much as morally lies in Me) here I am, and ever shall be fixt and resolute; nor shall any man gain My consent to that, wherein My Heart gives My tongue or hand the Lie; nor will I be brought to affirm that to Men, which in My Conscience I deny before God. I will rather chuse to wear a Crown of Thorns with My Saviour, then to exchange that of Gold (which is due to Me) for one of lead, whose embased flexiblenesse shall be forced to bend, and comply to the various & oft contrary dictates of any Factions; when instead of Reason, and Publique concernments, they obtrude nothing but what makes for the interest of parties, and flows from the partialities of private wils and passions.

I know no resolutions more worthy a Christian King, then to prefer His Conscience before His Kingdoms.

O my God, preserve thy servant in this Native, Rationall and Religious freedom; For this I believe is thy will that we should maintain: who, though thou dost justly require us, to submit our understandings and wils to thine; whose wisdom and goodnesse can neither erre, nor misguiae us, and so far to deny our carnall reason, in order to thy sacred Mysteries, and commands, that we should believe and obey rather then dissute them;

yet dost thou expect from us, onely such a reasonable service of thee, as not to doe any thing for thee, against our Consciences; and as to the desires of men, enjoynest us to try all things by the touch-stone of Reason and Laws, which are the Rules of Civill Justice; and to declare our consents to that only which our Judgements approve.

Thou knowest, O Lord, how unwilling I was to desert that place, in which thou hast set Me, and wherein the affairs of My Kingdoms at present did call Me.

My People can witness how far I have been content for their good, to deny My self, in what thou hast subjected to My disposall.

O let not the unthankfull importunities, and tumultuary violence of some mens immoderate demands, ever betray me to that degenerate and unmanly slavery, which should make Me strengthen them by My consent in those things which I think in My Conscience to be against thy glory, the good of My Subjects, and the discharge of My own duty in Reason and Justice.

Make Me willing to suffer the greatest indignities, and injuries they presse upon Me, rather then commit the least sinne against My Conscience.

Let the just liberties of My people be (as well they may) preserved in fair, and equall waies without the slavery of My soul.

The

Then that hast invested Me by thy favours, in the power of a Christian King, suffer Me not to subject My Reason to other mens passions and designs, which to Me seem unreasonable, unjust, and irreligious: So shall I serve thee, in the truth and uprightness of My heart, though I cannot satisfie these men.

Though I be driven from among them, yet give Me grace to walk alwaies uprightly before thee.

Leade Me in the way of Truth and Justice, for these, I know, will bring Me at last to peace and happinesse with thee, though for these I have much trouble among men.

This I beg of thee for My Saviours sake.

7. Upon the Queens departure and absence out of England.

Although I have much cause to be troubled at My Wifes departure from Me, and out of My Dominions; yet not Her absence, so much, as the scandall of that necessity, which drives Her away, doth afflict Me. That She should be compelled by My own Subjects, and those pretending to be Protestants, to withdraw for Her Safety: This being the first example of any Protestant Sub-

Subjects, that have taken up Arms against their King, a Protestant: For I look upon this now done in *England*, as another Act of the same Tragedy which was lately begun in *Scotland*; the brands of that fire being ill quenched have kindled the like flames here. I fear such motions (so little to the adorning of the Protestant profession) may occasion a farther alienation of mind, and divorce of affections in Her, from that Religion, which is the only thing wherein we differ.

Which yet God can, and I pray he would in time take away; and not suffer these practises to be any obstruction to Her judgment; since it is the motion of those men (for the most part) who art yet to seek and settle their Religion for Doctrine, Government and good manners, and so not to be imputed to the true English Protestants; who continue firm to their former settled Principles and Laws.

I am sorry My relation to so deserving a Lady, should be any occasion of her danger and affliction; whose merits would have served her for a protection among the savage *Indians*; while their rudenesse and barbarity knows not so perfectly to hate all Virtues, as some mens subtilty doth; among whom I yet think few are so malicious as to hate Her for Her Self: The fault is, that She is My Wife.

All justice then as well as affection commands

mands Me, to study her Security, who is only in danger for My sake; I am content to be trodded, weatherbeaten, and shipwrackt, so as She may be in safe Harbour.

This comfort I shall enjoy by Her safety in the midst of My Personall dangers, that I can perish but halfe, if She be preserved: In whose memory, and hopefull Posterity, I may yet survive the malice of My enemies, although they should be satiated with My blood.

I must leave Her, and them, to the Love and Loyalty of My good Subjects; and to his protection, who is able to punish the faults of Princes, and no lesse severely to revenge the injuries done to Them, by those who in all duty and Allegiance, ought to have made good that safety, which the Laws chiefly provide for Princes.

But common civility is in vain expected from those, that dispute their Loyalty: Nor can it be safe (for any relation) to a King, to tarry among them who are shaking hands with their Allegiance, under pretence of laying faster hold on their Religion.

Tis pittie so Noble and peacefull a soul should see, much more suffer, the rudeness of those who must make up their want of justice, with inhumanity, and impudence.

Her sympathy with Me in My afflictions, will make Her virtues shine with greater lustre,

as

as stars in the darkeſt nights: and assure the envious world, that She loves Me, not My fortunes.

Neither of Us but can eaſily forgive, ſince We do not much blame the unkindnes of the Generality, and Vulgar; for we ſee God pleaſed to try both Our patience, by the moſt ſelf-puniſhing ſin, the ingratitude of thoſe who having eaten of our bread, and being enriched with Our bounty, have ſcornfully liſt up themſelves againſt Us; and thoſe of Our own Houſhold are become Our enemies. I pray God lay not their ſin to their charge who think to ſatiſfie all obligations to duty by their Corban of Religion: and can leſſe endure to ſee, then to ſin againſt their benefactors as well as their Sovereigns.

But even that policy of My Enemies is ſo farre veniall, as it was neceſſary to their deſigns; by ſcandalous Articles, and all irreverent demeanour, to ſeek to drive Her out of My Kingdoms; leſt by the influence of Her example, eminent for love as a Wife, and loyalty, as a Subject, She ſhould have converted to, or retained in their love and loyalty all thoſe whom they had a purpoſe to pervert.

The leſſe I may be bleſt with her company the more I will retire to God and My own Heart, whence no malice can baniſh Her. My enemies may envy, but they can never deprive

Me of the enjoyment of Her vertues, while J
enjoy My self.

Thou, O Lord, whose Justice at present sees fit to
scatter us, let thy mercy, in thy due time, re-unite us
in earth, if it be thy will; however bring us both at
last, to thy heavenly Kingdom.

Preserve us from the hands of our despitefull and
deadly enemies; and prepare us by our sufferings for
thy presence.

Though we differ in some things, as to Religion
(which is My greatest temporal infelicity) yet Lord
give, and accept the sincerity of our affections,
which desire to seek, to finde, to embrace every Truth
of thine.

Let both our hearts agree in the love of thy self,
and Christ crucified for us.

Teach us both what thou wouldst have us to
know, in order to thy glory, our publike relations,
and our souls eternall good, and make us careful to
do what good we know.

Let neither Ignorance of what is necessary to be
known, nor unbelief, or disobedience to what we
know, be our misery or our wilfull default.

Let not this great Scandall of those My Sub-
jects, which professe the same Religion with Me,
be any hindrance to her love of any Truth thou
wouldst have her to learn, nor any hardning of
her, in any errour thou wouldst have cleared to
her.

Let

Let mine, and other mens constancy be an Antidote against the poyson of their example.

Let the Truth of that Religion I profess, be represented to her Judgement, with all the beauties of Humility, Loyalty, Charity and Peaceableness; which are the proper fruits and ornaments of it: not in the odious disguises of Levity, Schism, Heresie, Novety, Cruelty and Disloyalty, which some mens practices have lately put upon it.

Let her see thy sacred and saving Truths, Thine; that she may believe, love and obey them Thine, cleared from all rust and drosse of humane mixtures.

That in the glass of thy Truth she may see thee, those mercies which thou hast offered to us, in thy Son Jesus Christ, our only Saviour, and serve thee all those holy duties, which most agree with his doctrine, and most imitable example.

The experience we have of the vanity and uncertainty of all humane Glory, and greatnesse in scatterings and Eclipses, let it make us both much the more ambitious to be invested in those durable honours and perfections, which are only to be found in thy self, and obtained through Jesus Christ.

8. *Vpon His Majesties repulse
at Hull; and the fates of the
Hothams.*

MY repulse at *Hull* seemed at the first view
an act of so rude disloyalty, that My
greatest enemies had scarce confidence
enough to abet, or own it: It was the first o-
vert Essay to be made, how patiently I could
bear the losse of My Kingdoms.

God knows, it affected Me more with
shame and sorrow for others, then with anger
for My Self; nor did the affront done to Me
trouble Me so much as their sin, which admit-
ted no colour or excuse.

I was resolved how to bear this, and much
more with patience: But I foresaw they could
hardly contain themselves within the com-
passe of this one unworthy act, who had ef-
frontery enough to commit, or countenance
it. This was but the hand of that cloud, which
was soon after to overspread the whole King-
dom, and cast all into disorder and dark-
nesse.

For tis among the wicked Maxims of bold
and disloyall undertakers: That bad actions
must alwaies be seconded with worse, and ra-
ther not be begun then not carried on, for they
think

think the retreat more dangerous then the assault, and hate repentance more then perseverance in a Fault.

This gave Me to see clearly through all the pious disguises, and soft palliations of some men; whose words were sometime smothered then oil, but now J saw they would prove very Swords.

Against which J having (as yet) no defence, but that of a good Conscience, thought it My best policy (with patience) to bear what I could not remedy: And in this (J thank God) J had the better of *Hotham*, that no disdain, or emotion of passion transported Me, by the indignity of his carriage, to do or say any thing unbecoming My self, or unfutable to that temper, which in greatest injuries, J think, becomes a Christian, as coming nearest to the great example of Christ.

And indeed, J desire alwaies more to remember J am a Christian, then a King; for what the Majesty of one might justly abhor, the charity of the other is willing to bear; what the height of a King tempteth to revenge, the humility of a Christian teacheth to forgive. Keeping in compasse all those impotent passions, whose excesse injures a man, more then his greatest enemies can; for these give their malice a full impresson on our souls, which otherwaies cannot reach very far, nor do us much hurt.

I cannot but observe how God not long after so pleaded, and avenged My cause in the eye of the world, that the most wilfully blind cannot avoid the displeasure to see it, and with some remorse and fear to own it as a notable stroke, and prediction of divine vengeance.

For, Sir *John Hotham* unreproached, unthreatned, uncursed by any language or secret imprecation of Mine, only blasted with the conscience of his own wickednesse, and falling from one inconstancy to another, not long after paies his own, and his eldest Sons heads, as forfeitures of their disloyaltie, to those men, from whom surely he might have expected another reward then thus to divide their heads from their bodies, whose hearts with them were divided from their KING.

Nor is it strange that they who imployed them at first in so high a service, and so successful to them, should not find mercy enough to forgive him, who had so much premerited of them: For, Apostacy unto Loyaltie some men account the most unpardonable sin.

Nor did a solitary vengeance serve the turn; cutting off one head in a Family is not enough to expiate the affront done to the head of the Commonweal. The eldest Son must be involved in the punishment, as he was infected with the sin of the Father, against the Father of his Country: Root and Branch God cuts off
 Monday. E These

These observations are obvious to every fancy: God knows, I was so far from rejoicing in the *Hotham's* ruine (though it were such as was able to give the greatest thirst for revenge a full draught, being executed by them who first employed him against Me) that I so far pitied him; as I thought he first acted more against the light of his Conscience, then I hope other men do in the same Cause.

For, he was never thought to be of that superstitious sownesse, which some men pretend to, in matters of Religion; which darkens their judgment that they cannot see any thing of Sin and Rebellion in those means they use, with intents to reform their Models what they call Religion; who think all is gold of piety, which doth but glister with a shew of zeal and fervency.

Sir John Hotham was (I think) a man of another temper, and so most liable to those downright temptations of ambition; which have no cloak or cheat of Religion to impose upon themselves or others.

That which makes me more pity him is that after he began to have some inclination towards a repentance for his sin, and reparation of his duty to Me, he should be so unhappy as to fall into the hands of their Justice and not My Mercy, who could as willingly have

have forgiven him, as he could have asked that favour of Me.

For I think clemency a debt, which we ought to pay to those that crave it, when we have cause to believe they would not after abuse it, since God himself suffers us not to pay any thing for his mercy but only prayers and praises.

Poor Gentleman, he is now become a notable monument of unprosperous disloyaltie, teaching the world by so sad and unfortunate a spectacle, that the rude carriage of a Subject towards his Sovereign carries alwayes its own vengeance, as an unseparable shadow with it, and those oft prove the most fatall, and implacable Executioners of it, who were the first Employers in the service.

After times will dispute it, whether *Hotham* were more infamous at *Hull*, or at *Tower-Hill*; though 'tis certain that no punishment so stains a mans Honour, as wilfull preparations of unworthy actions; which besides the conscience of the sinne, brands with most indelible characters of infamy, the name and memory to posterity, who not engaged in the Factions of the times, have the most impartial reflections on the actions.

But thou, O Lord, who hast in so remarkable a way avenged thy Servant, suffer me not to take
 E 2 any

any secret pleasure in it, as his death hath satisfied the injury he did to me, so let me not by it gratify any passion in me, lest I make thy vengeance to be mine, and consider the affront against me, more then the sin against thee.

Thou indeed, without any desire or endeavour of mine, hast made his mischief to return on his own head, and his violent dealing to come down on his own pate.

Thou hast pleaded my cause, even before the sons of men, & taken the matter into thine own hands, that men may know it was thy work, and see that thou, Lord, hast done it.

I do not, I dare not say, so let mine enemies perish. O Lord! yea Lord, rather give them repentance, pardon, and impunity, if it be thy blessed will.

Let not thy justice prevent the objects and opportunities of my mercy; yea, let them live and amend who have most offended me in so high a nature; that I may have those to forgive, who bear most proportion in their offences to those trespasses against thy Majesty, which I hope thy mercy hath forgiven me.

Lord lay not their sins (who yet live) to their charge for condemnation, but to their consciences for amendment: Let the lightning of this thunderbolt; which hath been so severe a punishment to one, be a terrour to all.

Discover to them their sinne, who know not they have done amisse, and scare them from their

sin.

sinne, that sinne of malicious wickednesse.

That preventing thy judgements by their true repentance, they may escape the strokes of thine eternall vengeance.

And doe thou O Lord, establish the Throne of thy servant in mercy, and truth meeting together; let my Crowne ever flourish in righteousness, and peace, kissing each other.

Hear my prayer, O Lord, who hast taught us to pray for, to doe good to, and to love our enemies, for thy sake; who hast prevented us with offer- tures of thy love, even when we were thine enemies, and hast sent thy Sonne Jesus Christ to die for us, when we were disposed to crucifie him.

E 3

Upon

9. *Vpon the lifting, and raising
Armies against the King.*

I Find that I am at the same point and posture I was, when they forced Me to leave *Whitehall*: what Tumults could not doe, an Army must; which is but Tumults lifted, and enrolled to a better order, but as bad an end; My recess hath given them confidence that I may be conquered.

And so I easily may as to any outward strength, which, God knows, is little or none at all: But I have a Soul invincible through Gods grace enabling Me; here I am sure to be Conquerour, if God will give Me such a measure of Constancy, as to fear him more then man: and to love the inward peace of My Conscience: before any outward tranquillity.

And must I be opposed with force, because they have not reason wherewith to convince me? O my Soul! be of good courage, they confesse their knowne weaknesse, as to truth, and Justice, who chose rather to contend by Armies, then by Arguments.

Is this the reward and thanks that I am to receive for those many Acts of Grace I have lately passed, and for those many Indignities I have

have endured? Is there no way left to make Me a Glorious KING, but by My sufferings?

It is a hard and disputable choice for a King that loves his people, and desires their love, either to kill his own Subjects, or to be killed by them.

Are the hazards and miseries of Civil War in the bowels of My most flourishing Kingdom, the fruits I must now reap after 17 years living and reigning among them, with such a measure of Justice, Peace, Plenty, and Religion, as all Nations about either admired, or envied? Notwithstanding some miscarriages in Government, which might escape; rather through ill counsell of some men driving on their private ends; or the peevishness of others envying the publick should be managed without them; or the hidden & insuperable necessities of State, then any propensity, I hope, of My Self either to injuriousness or oppression.

Whose innocent blood during My Reign have I shed, to satisfy My lust, anger or covetousness? What Widows or Orphans tears can witness against Me; the just cry of which must now be avenged with My own blood? For the hazards of War are equall, nor doth the Cannon know any respect of Persons.

In vain is My Person excepted by a Parenthesis of words, when so many hands are armed against Me with Swords.

God knows how much I have studied to see what ground of Justice is alledged for this War against Me ; that so I might (by giving just satisfaction) either prevent , or soon end so unnaturall a motion, which (to many men) seems rather the productions of a surfeit of peace, and wantonnesse of minds , or of private discontents, Ambition and faction (which easily find , or make causes of quarrel) then any reall obstructions of publique Justice, or Parliamentary Priviledge.

But this is pretended, and this I must be able to avoid and answer before God and My own Conscience, however some men are not willing to believe Me, lest they should condemn themselves.

When I first withdrew from *Whitehall*, to see if I could allay the insolency of the Tumults (the not suppressing of which , no account in Reason can be given (where an orderly Guard was granted but only to oppress both Mine and the Two Houses freedom of declaring and voting according to every mans Conscience) what obstructions of Justice were there further then this, that what seemed just to one man, might not seem so to another?

Whom did I by power protect against the Justice of Parliament?

That some men withdrew, who feared the partiality of their triall (warned by My Lord

to of *straffords* death) while the vulgar threatned
 this to be their Oppressors, and judgers of their
 ing Judges, was from that instinct, which is in all
 end creatures to preserve themselves. If any others
 en) refused to appear, where they evidently saw
 t of the current of Justice and Freedom so stopped
 pri and troubled by the Rabble, that their lawfull
 nich Judges either durst not come to the Houses, or
 hen not declare their sense with liberty and safety;
 or it cannot seem strange to any reasonable man
 able when the sole exposing them to publick *odium*
 own was enough to ruine them, before their Cause
 wil could be heard or tried.

Had not factious Tumults overborn the
 emn Freedom and Honour of the two Houses;
 had they asserted their Justice against them, &
 , to made the way open for all the Members quiet-
 Tu ly to come and declare their Consciences: I
 ac know no man so dear to Me, whom I had
 or the least inclination to advise either to with-
 esse draw himself, or deny appearing upon their
 n of Summons, to whose Sentence according to
 mans Law (I think) every Subject bound to stand.

Distempers (indeed) were risen to so great
 just a height, for want of timely repressing the Vul-
 r the gar insolencies; that the greatest guilt of those
 the which were Voted and demanded as Delin-
 the quents, was this, That they would not suffer
 ord themselves to be overaw'd with the Tumults,
 of and their Patrons; not compelled to abet

by their suffrages, or presence; the designs of those men who agitated innovations, and ruin both in Church and State.

In this point I could not but approve their generous constancy and cautiousness; further then this I did never allow any mans refractoriness against the Priviledges and Orders of the Houses; to whom I wished nothing more, then Safety, Fulness and Freedom.

But the truth is, some men, and those not many, despairing in fair and Parliamentary waies, by free deliberations and Votes, to gain the concurrence of the Major part of Lords and Commons, betook themselves by the desperate activity of factious Tumults to sift and terrifie away all those Members whom they saw to be of contrary minds to their purposes.

How oft was the businesse of the Bishops enjoying their Ancient places, and undoubted Priviledges in the House of Peers, carried for them by far the Major part of Lords? Yet after five repulses, contrary to all Order and Custom, it was by tumultuary instigations obtruded again, and by a few carried, when most of the Peers were forced to absent themselves.

In like manner, was the Bill against Root and Branch, brought on by tumultuary Clamours, and schismaticall Terrours, which never passed, till both Houses were sufficiently thinned and overaw'd.

To

To which Partiality, while in all Reason, Justice and Religion, my Conscience forbids me by consenting to make up their Votes to Acts of Parliament; I must now be urged with an Army, and constrained either to hazard my Owne, and my Kingdomes ruine, by my Defence; or prostrate my conscience to the blind obedience of those men, whose zealous superstition thinkes or pretends, they cannot do God and the Church a greater service, then utterly to destroy the Primitive, Apostolical, and antiently Universall Government of the Church by Bishops.

Which if other mens judgments bind them to maintain, or forbids them to consent to the abolishing of it; mine much more; who, besides the grounds I have in my judgement, have also a most strickt and indispensable Oath upon my Conscience, to preserve that Order, and the Right of the Church; to which, most Sacrilegious and abhorred Perjury, most un-beseeming a Christian King, should I by ever giving my Consent be betrayed, I should account it infinitely greater misery, then any hath, or can be fall me; in as much as the least sinne hath more evill in it then the greatest affliction. Had I gratified their Anti-Episcopall Faction at first in this point, with my Consent, and sacrificed the Ecclesiastical Government, and Revenues, to the

the fury of their coverousnesse, ambition, and revenge, I believe they would then have found no colourable necessity of raising an Army to fetch in and punish Delinquents.

That I consented to the Bill of putting the Bishops out of the House of Peers, was done with a firm perswasion of their contentedness to suffer a present diminution in their Rights and Honour, for My sake, and the Common weals, which I was confident they would readily yeild unto, rather then occasion (by the least obstruction on their part) any danger to Me or to My Kingdoms. That I cannot add My consent to the totall extirpation of the Government (which I have often offered to all fit regulations) hath so much further upon My Conscience, as what I thinke Religious and Apostolicall; and so very Sacred and Divine, is not to be dispensed with, or destroyed, when what is onely of civill Favour, and priviledge of Honour granted to men of that Order, may with their consent, who are concerned in it be annulled.

This is the true state of those obstructions pretended to be in point of justice and Authority of Parliament; when I call God to witness, I knew none of such consequence as was worth speaking of a War, being onely such as Justice, Reason, and Religion had made in My Owne and other mens Consciences.

After

Afterwards indeed a great shew of Delinquents was made, which were but consequences necessarily following upon Mine, or others withdrawing from, or defence against violence: but those could not be the first occasion of raising an Army against Me. Wherein I was so far from preventing them, (as they have declared often, that they might seem to have the advantage and Justice of the defensive part, and load Me with all the envy and injuries of first assaulting them) that God knows, I had not so much as any hopes of an Army in My thoughts. Had the Tumults been Honourably and effectually repressed by exemplary Justice, and the liberty of the Houses vindicated, that all Members of either House might with Honour and Freedom, committing such a Senate, have come and discharged their Consciences, I had obtained all that I designed to My withdrawing, and had much more willingly, and speedily returned when I retired; this being My necessity driving, the other My choice desiring.

But some men knew I was like to bring the same judgement and constancy, which I carry with Me, which would never fit their designs: and so while they invited Me to come, & grievously complained of My absence, yet they could not but be pleased with it: especially when they had found out that plausible and

and popular pretext of raising an Army to fetch in Delinquents: when all that while they never punished the greatest & most intolerable Delinquency of the Tumults, and their Excesses, which drave my self, and so many of both Houses from their places, by most barbarous indignities, which yet in all reason and Honour, they were as loath to have deserted, as those others were willing they should, that they might have occasion to persecute them with the Injuries of an Army, for not suffering more tamely the Injuries of the Tumults.

That this is the true state, and first drift and designe in raising an Army against me, is by the sequell so evident, that all other pretences vanish. For when they declared by Propositions, or Treaties, what they would have to appose them; there was nothing of consequence offered to me, or demanded of Me, as any original difference in any point of Law, or order of Justice. But among other lesser Innovations, this chiefly was urged, The Abolition of Episcopall, and the establishing of Presbyterian Government.

All other things at any time propounded were either impertinent as to any ground of a War, or easily granted by Me, and only to make up a number, or else they were meerly consequentia, and necessary, after the War was by them unjustly began.

I cannot hinder other mens thoughts, whom the noise and shew of piety, and heat for Reformation and Religion, might easily so fill with prejudice, that all equality and clearness of judgment might be obstructed. But this was, and is, as to my best observation, the true state of affairs between us, when they first raised an Army, with this design, either to stop My mouth, or to force My consent: and in this truth, as to My conscience (who was (God knows) as far from meditating a War, as I was in the eie of the world from having any preparations for one) I find that comfort, that in the midst of all the unfortunate successes of this War, on My side, I do not think My Innocencie any whit prejudiced or darkened: Nor am I without that Integrity, and Peace before God, as with humble confidence to addresse My Prayer to Him.

For Thou, O Lord, see'st clearly through all the cloudings of humane affairs; Thou judgest without prejudice: Thy Omnisience eternally guides thy unerrable Judgment.

O my God, the proud are risen against me, and the assemblies of violent men have sought after my soul, and have not set Thee before their eyes.

Consider my Enemies, O Lord, for they are many, and they hate me with a deadly hatred without a cause.

For

For thou knowest, I had no passion, design or preparation to embroyl My Kingdoms in Civil War; whereto I had least temptation; knowing I must adventure more then any, and could gain least of any by it.

Thou, O Lord, art my witnesse how oft I have deplored, and studied to divert the necessity thereof, wherein I cannot well be thought so prodigally thirsty of my Subjects bloud, as to venture my own Life, which I have been oft compelled to do in this unhappy War; and which were better spent to save, then to destroy my People.

O Lord, I need much of thy grace, with patience to bear the many afflictions thou hast suffered some men to bring upon me; but much more to bear the unjust reproaches of those, who not content that I suffer most by War, will needs perswade the world that I have raised first, or given just cause to raise it.

The confidence of some mens false tongues is such, that they would make me almost suspect my own innocency: Tea, I could be content (at least by my silence) to take upon me so great a guilt before men, if by that I might allay the malice of my Enemies, and redeem my People from this miserable War; since thou O Lord knowest my Innocency in this thing.

Thou wilt find out bloody and deceitfull men; many of whom have not lived out half their daies, in which they promised themselves the enjoyment

joyment of the fruits of their violent and wicked counsels.

Save, O Lord, thy servant, as hitherto thou hast, and in thy due time scatter the people that delight in War.

Arise, O Lord, lift up thy self, because of the rage of mine Enemies, which increaseth more and more. Behold them that have conceived mischief, travelled with iniquity, and brought forth falsehood.

Thou knowest the chief design of this War is, either to destroy my Person, or force my Judgement, and to make me renege my Conscience and thy Truth.

I am driven to crosse Davids choyce, and desire rather to fall into the hands of men, by denying them (though their mercies be cruell) then into thy hands by sinning against my Conscience, and in that against thee, who art a consuming fire: Better they destroy me, then thou shouldst damn me.

Be thou ever the defence of my soule, who wilt save the upright in heart.

If nothing but my blood will satisfie my Enemies, or quench the flames of my Kingdoms, or thy Temporall justice, I am content, if it be thy will, that it be shed by mine own Subjects hands.

But O let the blood of Me, though their King, yet a sinner, be washed with the blood of my Inno-

cent and peace-maker Redeemer, for in that thy Justice will find not only a temporary expiation but an eternall plenary satisfaction; both for my sins, and the sins of my People; whom I beseech thee still own for thine; and when thy wrath is appeased by my Death, O Remember thy great mercies toward them, and forgive them! O my Father for they know not what they do.

10. Upon their seizing the Kings Magazines, Forts, Navy, and Militia.

HOW untruly I am charged with the raising of an Army, and beginning the Civil War, the eyes that only pity Me, and the Loyall hearts that durst only pray for Me, at first, might witness, which yet appear not so many on My side, as there were men in Arms listed against Me; My unpreparednesse for a War may well dishearten those that would help Me; while it argues (truly) My unwillingnesse to fight; yet it testifies for Me that I am set on the defensive part; having little hopes or power to offend others, that have none to defend My Self, or to preserve what is Mine own from their procepcion.

No man can doubt but they prevented Me in their purposes, as well as their injuries, who are so much before-hand in their preparations against Me, and surprisals of My strength. Such as are not for Them, yet dare not be for Me; so over-aw'd in their Loyalty by the others numbers and terrours. I believe My Innocency, and unpreparednesse to assert My Rights and Honour, makes Me the more guilty in their esteeme; who would not so easily have declared a War against Me, if I had first assaulted them.

They knew My chiefest Armes left Me, were only those, which the Ancient Christians were wont to use against their Persecutors, Prayers and Tears. These may serve a good mans turne, if not to Conquer as a Souldier, yet to suffer as a Martyr.

Their preventing of Me, and surprizing My Castles, Forts, Armes, and Navy, with the Militia, is so farre best for Me, That it may drive Me from putting any trust in the arme of flesh, and wholly to cast My self into the protection of the living God, who can save by few, or none, as well as by many.

He that made the greedy Ravens to be *Elias* Caterers, and bring him food, may also make their surprisall of outward force and defence, an opportunity to shew me the special support of his power and protection.

I thank God I reckon not now the want of the Militia so much in reference to my own protection as My Peoples.

Their many and sore oppressions grieve Me I am above My own, what I want in the hand of Force and Power, I have in the wings of Faith and Prayer.

But this is the strange method these men will needs take to resolve their riddle of Making Me a glorious King, by taking away My Kingly power: Thus I shall become a support to My Friends, and a Terrour to My Enemies being unable to succour the one, or suppress the other.

For this have they designed, and proposed to me, the new modelling of Sovereignty and Kingship, so without any reality of power, or without any necessity of subjection and obedience: That the Majesty of the Kings of England might hereafter hang, like *Mahommed's* Tomb, by a magnetique Charm, between the Power and Priviledges of the two Houses, in an airy imagination of Regality.

But I believe the surfeit of too much Power which some men have greedily seized on, and now seek wholly to devour, will ere long make the Common-wealth sick both of it and thereof since they cannot well digest it; Sovereign Power in Subjects seldom agreeing with the stomachs of fellow Subjects.

Yet I have even in this point of the constant *Militia* sought, by satisfying their fears, and importunities, both to secure my Friends, and overcome Mine enemies, to gaine the peace of all, by depriving my self of a sole power to helpe, or hurt any : yeilding the *Militia* (which is my undoubted Right no lesse then the Crowne) to be disposed of as the two Houses shall think fit, during My time.

So willing am I to bury all Jealousies in them of me, and to live above all jealousies of them, as to my self; I desire not to be safer then I wish them and my People; If I had the sole actual disposing of the *Militia*, I could not protect my People, further then they protected me, and themselves : so that the use of the *Militia* is mutuall. I would but defend my self so far, as to be able to defend my good Subjects from those mens violence and fraud, who conscious to their own evill merits and designs, will needs perswade the world, that none but Wolves are fit to be trusted with the custody of the Shepherd and his Flock. Miserable experience hath taught My Subjects, since power hath been wrested from Me, and employed against me and them ! that neither can be safe if both be not in such a way as the Law hath intrusted the publique safety and welfare.

Yet even this Concession of mine as to the

exercife of the Militia, fo vaft and large, is not fatisfactory to fome men; which feem to be Enemies not to Me only, but to all Monarchy, and are refolved to tranfmit to pofterity fuch Jealoufies of the Crown, as they fhould never permit to enjoy its juft and neceffary Rights, in point of Power; to which (at laft) all Law is refolved, while thereby it is be-
protected.

But here Honour and Juftice due to My Succeffors, forbid Me to yeild to fuch a total alienation of that power from them, which civility & duty (no leffe then juftice and honour) fhould have forbid them to have asked of Me.

For, although I can be content to Eclipfe My own beames, to fatisfie their fears; which I think they muft needs be fcorched or blinded if I fhould fhine in the full luftre of Kings Power, wherewith God and the Laws have invefted Me: yet I will never confent to put out the Sun of Sovereignty to all Pofterity, and fucceeding Kings; whose juft recovery of their Rights from unjust ufurpations and extortions, fhall never be prejudiced or ob-
ftructed by any Act of Mine, which indeed would not be more injurious to fucceeding Kings, then to My Subjects; whom I defire to leave in a condition not wholly defperate for the future; fo as by a Law to be ever fub-
jected to thofe many factious diftractions
which

which must needs follow the many-headed *Hydra* of Government: which as it makes a shew to the people to have more eyes to foresee; so they will finde it hath more mouths too, which must be satisfied: and (at best) it hath rather a monstrosity, then any thing of perfection, beyond that of right Monarchy; where counsell may be in many as the senses, but the Supreme Power can be but in One as the Head.

Happily when men have tried the horrors and malignant influence which will certainly follow My enforced darknesse and Eclipse, (occasioned by the interposition and shadow of that body, which as the Moon receiveth its chiefest light from Me) they will at length more esteem and welcom the restored glory and blessing of the Sun's light.

And if at present I may seem by My receding so much from the use of My Right in the Power of the *Militia*, to come short of the discharge of that trust to which I am sworn for My Peoples protection; I conceive those men are guilty of the enforced perjury (if so it may seem) who compell Me to take this new and strange way of discharging My trust, by seeming to desert it; or protecting My Subjects by exposing My Self to danger or dishonour, for their safety and quiet.

Which in the Conflicts of Civil War and

advantages of Power cannot be effected but by some side yielding; to which the greatest love of the publique Peace, and the firmest assurance of Gods protection (arising from a good conscience) doth more invite Me, then can be expected from other mens fears; which arising from the injustice of their actions (though never so successfull) yet dare not adventure their Authors upon any other way of safety, then that of the Sword and *Militia*; which yet are but weak defences against the strokes of divine vengeance, which will overtake; or of mens own Consciences, which always attend injurious perpetrations.

For My Self, I do not think that I can want any thing which providential necessity is pleased to take from Me, in order to My Peoples tranquillity, and Gods glory, whose protection is sufficient for Me; and he is able by his being with Me, abundantly to compensate to Me, as he did to *Job*, what ever honour, power, or liberty the *Chaldeans*, the *Sabeans*, or the Devil himself can deprive Me of.

Although they take from me all defence of Arms and *Militia*; all refuge by Land, of Forts and Castles; all flight by Sea, in my Ships, and Navy; yea, though they study to rob me of the Hearts of my Subjects, the greatest Treasure and best Ammunition of a King, yet cannot they deprive me of my own

innocence

innocency, or Gods mercy, nor obstruct my way to Heaven.

Therefore, O my God, to thee I fly for help, if thou wilt be on my side, I shall have more with me then can be against me.

There is none in Heaven, or in Earth, that I desire in comparison of thee: In the losse of all, be thou more then all to me: Make hast to succour me, thou that never failest them that put their trust in thee.

Thou seest I have no power to oppose them that come against me, who are encouraged to fight under the pretence of fighting for me: But my eyes are toward thee.

Thou needest no help, nor shall I, if I may have thine; if not to conquer, yet at least to suffer.

If thou delightest not in my safety, and prosperity, behold here I am willing to be reduced to what thou wilt have me; whose Judgments oft begin with thy own Children.

I am content to be nothing, that thou mayst be all.

Thou hast taught me, That no King can be saved by the multitude of an Hoast; but yet thou canst save me by the multitude of thy mercies, who art the Lord of Hoasts, and the Father of mercies.

Help me, O Lord, who am sore distressed on every side; yet be thou on my side, and I shall not

not fear what man can do unto me.

I will give thy Justice the glory of my distresse.

O let thy mercy have the glory of my deliverance from them that persecute my Soull!

By my sins have I fought against thee, and robbed thee of thy glory, who art thy subject, and justly mayst thou, by my own Subjects, strip me of my strength, and eclipse my glory.

But shew thy self, O my hope, and only refuge. Let not mine enemies say, There is no help for him in his God.

Hold up my goings in thy paths, that my foot-steps slip not.

Keep me as the apple of thine eye, hide me under the shadow of thy wings.

Shew thy marvellous loving kindnesse, O thou that savest by thy right hand them that put their trust in thee, from those that rise up against them.

From the wicked that oppresse me, from my deadly enemies that compass me about.

Shew me the path of Life. In thy presence is fulnesse of joy, at thy right hand there are pleasures for evermore.

II. Upon the 19. Propositions first sent to the King; and more afterwards.

ALthough there be many things, they demand, yet if these be al, I am glad to see at what price they set My own safety, and My Peoples peace; which I cannot think I buy at too dear a rate, save only the parting with my Conscience and Honour. If nothing else will satisfie, I must chuse rather to be as miserable and inglorious, as My enemies can make or with me.

Somethings here propounded to Me, have been offered by Me; Others are easily granted; the rest (I think) ought not to be obtruded upon Me, with the point of the Sword; nor urged with the injuries of a War; when I have already declared that I cannot yeild to them, without violating My Conscience: 'tis strange, there can be no method of peace, but by making War upon My Soul.

Here are many things required of Me, but I see nothing offer'd to Me, by the way of gratefull exchange of Honour; or any requitall for those favours, I have, or can yet grant them.

This Honour they doe Me, to put Me on the

the giving part, which is more Princely and divine. They cannot ask more then I can give, may I but reserve to My self the Incommunicable Jewell of My Conscience; and not be forced to part with that, whose losse nothing can repaire or requite.

Some things (which they are pleased to propound) seem unreasonable to Me, and while I have any Mastery of My Reason, how can they think I can consent to them? Who know they are such as are inconsistent with being either a King, or a good Christian. My yeilding so much (as I have already) makes some men confident I will deny nothing.

The love I have of My Peoples peace, hath (indeed) great influence upon Me; but the love of Truth, and inward peace hath more.

Should I grant some things they require, I should not so much weaken my outward state of a King; as wound that inward quiet of My Conscience, which ought to be, is and ever shall be (by Gods grace) dearer to Me then My Kingdomes.

Some things which a King might approve, yet in Honour and Policy are at some time to be denied, to some men, lest he should seeme not to dare to deny any thing; and give too much incouragement to unreasonable demands, or importunities.

But to bind my self to a general and impli-
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cite consent, to what ever they shall desire; or propound, (for such is one of their Propositions) were such a latitude of blind obedience, as never was expected from any Freeman, nor fit to be required of any man, much lesse of a King, by His own Subjects; any of whom he may possibly exceed as much in wisdom, as He doth in place and power.

This were as if *Sampson* should have consented, not only to binde his own hands, and cut off his haire, but to put out his own eyes, that the *Philistins* might with the more safety mock, and abuse him; which they chose rather to do, then quite to destroy him, when he was become so tame an object, and fit occasion for their sport and scorn.

Certainly, to exclude all power of deniall, seemes an arrogancy, least of all becomming those who pretend to make their addresses in an humble and loyal way of petitioning; who by that sufficiently confesse their own inferiority, which obligeth them to rest, if not satisfied, yet quieted with such an answer as the will and reason of their Superiour thinks fit to give; who is acknowledged to have a freedom and power of Reason, to Consent, Dissent, else it were very foolish and absurd to ask, what another having not liberty to deny, neither hath power to grant.

But if this be my Right belonging to me,
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in Reason, as a Man, and in Honour as a Sovereign King, (as undoubtedly it doth) how can it be other then extream injury to confine my Reason to necessity of granting all they have a mind to ask, whose minds may be as differing from Mine both in Reason & Honour, as their aims may be, and their qualities are; which law God & the Laws have sufficiently distinguished, making me their Sovereign, & them my Subjects: whose Propositions may soon prove violent oppositions, if once they gain to be necessary impositions upon the Regall Authority. Since no man seekes to limit and confine his King, in Reason, who hath not a secret aime to share with him, or usurp upon him his Power and Dominion.

But they would have me trust to their moderation, & abandon mine own discretion; that I might verifie what representations some have made of me to the world, that I am fitter to be their Pupill then their Prince. Truly I am not so confident of my own sufficiency, as not willingly to admit the Councell of others. But yet I am not so diffident of my selfe, as to be brutishly to submit to any mens dictates, and at once to betray the Sovereignty of Reason in my Soul, and the Majesty of my own Crown to any of my Subjects.

Least of all have I any ground of credulity, to induce me fully to submit to all the desires

of those men, who will not admit or do refuse, and neglect to vindicate the freedom of their own and others, sitting and voting in Parliament.

Besides, all men that know them, know this, how young States-men (the most part) of these propounders are; so that, till experience of one seven years hath shewed Me, how well they can Govern themselves, and so much power as is wrested from Me, I should be very foolish indeed, and unfaithfull, in My Trust, to put the reins of both Reason and Government, wholly out of My own, into their hands, whose driving is already too much like *Jehu's*; and whose forwardnesse to ascend the Throne of Supremacy portends more of *Phaeton* then of *Phebus*; God divert the Omen, fit be his will.

They may remember, that at best they sit in Parliament, as My Subjects, not My Superiours; called to be My Counsellours, not Dictatours: Their Summons extends to recommend their advice, not to command My Duty.

When I first heard of Propositions to be sent Me, I expected either some good Laws, which had been antiquated by the course of time; or overlaid by the corruption of manners, had been desired to a restauration of their vigour and due execution; or some evil customs
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preterlegall, and abuses personall had been
be removed: or some injuries done by My
Self, and others, to the Common-weal, were
to be repaired: or some equable offertures
were to be tendred to Me, wherein the advan-
tages of My Crown being considered
them, might fairly induce Me to condescend
to what tended to My Subjects good, without
any great diminution of My Self, whom Na-
ture, Law, Reason, and Religion, bind Me (in
the first place) to preserve: without which, it
impossible to preserve My People according
to My Place.

Or (at least) I looked for such moderate
desires of due Reformation of what was (in
deed) amisse in Church and State, as might
still preserve the foundation and essentials of
Government in both; not shake and quite
verthrow either of them, without any regard
to the Laws in force, the wisdom and piety
of former Parliaments, the ancient and un-
versall practice of Christian Churches; the
Rights and Priviledges of particular men.
Nor yet any thing offered in lieu, or in the
room of what must be destroyed, which
might at once reach the good end of the
others Institution, and also supply its pretended
defects, reform its abuses, and satisfie sober
and wise men, not with soft and specious
words, pretending zeal and speciall piety.

but with pregnant and solid reasons both divine and humane, which might justify the abruptness and necessity of such vast alterations.

But in all their Propositions I can observe little of these kinds, or to these ends: Nothing of any Laws dis-joynted, which are to be restored; of any right invaded; of any justice to be un-obstructed; of any compensations to be made; of any impartial reformation to be granted; to all, or any of which, Reason, Religion, true Policy, or any other humane motives, might induce me.

But as to the maine matters propounded by them at any time, in which is either great novelty, or difficulty. I perceive that what were formerly look'd upon as Factions in the State, and Schismes in the Church, and so, punishable by the Lawes, have now the confidence, by vulgar clamours, and assistance (chiefly) to demand not only Tolerations of themselves, in their vanity, novelty, and confusion; but also Abolition of the Laws against them: and in the totall extirpation of that Government, whose Rights they have a mind to invade.

This, as to the maine; other Propositions (for the most part) but as waste paper in which those are wrapped up to present them somewhat more handsomely.

Nor doe I so much wonder at the variety.

and horrible novelty of some Propositions (there being noting so monstrous, which some fancies are not prone to long for.)

This casts me not into an admiration, but an extasie, how such things should have the fortune to be propounded in the name of the two Houses of the Parliament of *England*: among whom, I am very confident, there was not a fourth part of the Members of either House, whose judgements free, single and impartial did approve or desire such destructive changes in the Government of the Church.

I am perswaded there remaines in far the Major part of both Houses, (if free, and full of so much Learning, Reason, Religion, and justice and moderation, as to know how to sever between the use and the abuse of things; the institution, and the corruption, the Government and the Mis-government, the Primitive Pattern and the aberrations or blottings of after Copies.

Sure they could not all, upon so little or no Reason (as yet propounded to the contrary) so soon renounce all regard to the Laws in force, to antiquity, to the piety of their reforming Progenitors, to the prosperity of former times in this Church and State, under the present Government of the Church.

Yet, by a strange fatality, these men suffered either by their absence, or silence, or negligence

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gence, or supine credulity (believing that all is Gold, which is gilded with the shews of Zeal and Reformation) their private dissenting in Judgment to be drawn into the common sewer or stream of the present vogue and humour; which hath its chief rise and abatement from those popular clamours and Tumults: which served to give life and strength to the infinite activity of those men, who studied with all diligence, and policy, to improve to their Innovating designs, the present distractions.

Such Armies of Propositions having so little, in My judgment, of Reason, Justice and Religion on their side, as they had Tumult and Faction for their rise, must not go alone, but ever be backt and seconded with Armies of Souldiers: Though the second should prevail against My Person, yet the first shall never overcome Me, further then I see cause; for, I look not at their number and power so much, as I weigh their Reason and Justice.

Had the two Houses first sued out their livery, and once effectually redeemed themselves from the Wardship of the Tumults, (which can be no other then the Hounds that attend the cry, and hollow of those Men, who hunt after Faction, and private Designs, to the ruine of Church and State.)

Did My Judgment tell Me, that the Propositions

sitions sent to Me were the Results of the Major part of their votes, who exercise their freedom, as well as they have a right to sit in Parliament: I should then suspect My own judgment, for not speedily and fully concurring with every one of them.

For, I have charity enough to think, there are wise men among them: and humility to think, that, as in some things I may want, 'tis fit I should use their advice, which is the end for which I called them to a Parliament. But yet I cannot allow their wisdom, such a compleatnesse and inerrability as to exclude My Self; since none of them hath that part to Act, that Trust to discharge, nor that Estate and Honour to preserve as My Self; without whose Reason concurrent with theirs (as the Suns influence is necessary in all natures productions) they cannot beget, or bring forth any one compleat and authoritative Act of publique wisdom, which makes the Laws.

But the unreasonablenesse of some Propositions is not more evident to Me then this is. That they are not the joynt and free desires of those in their Major number, who are of right to Sit and Vote in Parliament.

For many of them favour very strong of that old leaven of Innovations. masked under the name of Reformation (which in My two last famous Predecessours daies, heaved at

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and sometime threatned both Prince and Parliaments: But, I am sure was never wont so far to infect the whole masse of the Nobility and Gentry of this Kingdom; however it dispersed among the Vulgar: Nor was it likely so suddenly to taint the Major part of both Houses, as that they should unanimously desire, and affect so enormous and dangerous innovations in Church and State, contrary to their former education, practice, and judgment.

Not that I am ignorant, how the choyce of many Members was carried by much faction in the Countries; some thirsting after nothing more, then a passionate revenge of what ever displeasure they had conceived against Me, My Court, or the Clergie.

But all Reason bids Me impute these sudden and vast desires of change to those few, who armed themselvs with the many-headed, and many-handed Tumults.

No lesse doth Reason, Honour, and Safety both of Church and State command me, to chew such morsels, before I let them down: If the straitnesse of My Conscience will not give Me leave to swallow down such Camels, as others do of Sacriledge and injustice both to God and man, they have no more cause to quarrell with Me, then for this, that My throat is not so wide as theirs. Yet by Gods help I

am resolved, That nothing of passion, or peevishnesse, or list to contradict, or vanity to shew My negative power, shall have any bias upon My judgement, to make Me gratifie My will, by denying any thing, which My Reason and Conscience commands Me not.

Nor on the other side, will I consent to more then Reason, Justice, Honour, and Religion perswade Me, to be for Gods glory, the Churches good, My Peoples welfare, and My own peace.

I will study to satisfie My Parliament, and My People; but I will never, for fear or flattery, gratifie any Faction, how potent soever, for this were to nourish the disease, and oppresse the body.

Although many mens loyaltie and prudence are terrified from giving Me that free, and faithfull counsell, which they are able and willing to impart, and I may want; yet none can hinder Me from craving of the counsell of that mighty Counsellour, who can both suggest what is best, and incline My Heart steadfastly to follow it.

O thou fast and eternall Reason, whose wisdom is fortified with Omnipotency, furnish thy servant, first with the clear discoveries of Truth, Reason, and Justice, in my understanding: then so confirm my will and resolution to adhere

to them, that no terrours, injuries, or oppressions of My Enemies may ever enforce Me against those rules, which thou by them hast planted in My Conscience.

Thou never madest Me a King, that I should be lesse then a man; and not dare to say, Yea, or Nay, as I see cause; which freedom is not denied to the meanest creature, that hath the use of Reason, and liberty of speech.

Shall that be blamable in Me, which is commendable veracity and constancy in others?

Thou seest, O Lord, with what partiality, and injustice they deny that freedome to Me their KING, which thou hast given to all Men; and which They themselves pertinaciously challenge to themselves; whilst they are so tender of the least breach of their priviledges.

To Thee I make My supplication, who canst guide us by an unerring rule, through the perplexed Labyrinths of our own thoughts, and other mens proposals; which, I have some cause to suspect, are purposely cast as snares, that by My granting or denying them, I might be more entangled in those difficulties, wherewith they lie in wait to afflict Me.

O Lord, make thy way plain before Me.

Let not My owne sinfull passions cloud, or divert thy sacred suggestions:

Let thy glory be My end, thy word My rule, and then thy will be done.

I cannot please all, I care not to please some men;
If I may be happy to please thee, I need not fear
whom I displease.

Thou that makest the wisdom of the world foolishness, and takest in their own devices, such as are wise in their own conceits, make Me wise by thy truth, for thy honour, My Kingdoms general good, and My own souls salvation, and I shall not much regard the worlds opinion or diminution of Me.

The lesse wisdom they are willing to impute to Me, the more they shall be convinced of thy wisdom directing me, while I deny nothing fit to be granted, out of crosse, or humour; nor grant any thing which is to be denied, out of any feare, or flattery of man.

Suffer me not to be guilty, or unhappy, by willing or inconsiderate advancing any mens designs, which are injurious to the publique good, while I confirme them by My consent.

Nor let me be any occasion to hinder or defraud the publique of what is best, by any morose or perverse dissentings.

Make me so humbly charitable, as to follow their advise, when it appears to be for the publique good, of whose affections to me, I have yet but few evidences to assure Me.

Thou canst as well blesse honest errors, as blasphemous fraudulent counsels.

Since we must give an account of every evil
and

and idle word in private, at thy Tribunall; Lord make me carefull of those solemn Declarations of my minde which are like to have the greatest influence upon the Publique, either for woe, or weale.

The lesse others consider what they aske, make me the more solicitous what I answer.

Though Mine own, and My Peoples pressures are grievous, and peace would be very pleasing; yet Lord, never suffer Me to avoid the one, or purchase the other, with the least expence or waste of My Conscience; whereof thou O Lord onely art deservedly more Master then My self.

12. Upon the Rebellion and troubles in Ireland.

THE Commotions in Ireland were so sudden, and so violent, that it was hard at first either to discern the rise or apply a remedy to that precipitant Rebellion.

Indeed, that sea of bloud, which hath there been cruelly and barbarously shed, is enough to drown any man in eternall both infamy and misery, whom God shall find the malicious Authour or Instigator of its effusion.

It fell out as a most unhappy advantage to some mens malice against me; that when they had

had impudence enough to lay any thing to my charge, this bloody opportunity should be offered them, with which I must be aspersed. Although there was nothing which could be more abhorrid to me, being so full of sin against God, disloyalty to my self, and destructive to my Subjects.

Some men took it very ill not to be believed, when they affirmed, that what the Irish Rebels did, was done with my privity (at least) if not by my Commission: But these knew too well, that it is no news for some of My Subjects to fight, not onely without My Commission, but against My Command, and Person too; yet all the while to pretend, they fight by My Authority, and for My Safety,

I would to God the Irish had nothing to allege for their imitation against those, whose blame must needs be the greater, by how much Protestant Principles are most against all Rebellion against Princes, then those of Papists. Nor will the goodnesse of mens intentions excuse the scandal, and contagion of their Examples.

But who ever faile of their Duty toward me, I must bear the blame; this Honour My Enemies have alwayes done me, to think moderate injuries not proportionate to me, nor competent trials, either of my patience under them, or my pardon of them.

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Therefore with exquisite malice they have mixed the gall and vinegar of falsity and contempt, with the cup of My Affliction; charging Me not only with untruths, but such, as wherein I have the greatest share of losse and dishonour by what is committed; whereby (in all Policy, Reason, and Religion, having least cause to give the least consent, and most grounds of utter detestation) I might be represented by them to the world the more inhumane and barbarous: Like some Cyclopick monster, whom nothing will serve to eat and drink, but the flesh and bloud of My own Subjects; in whose common welfare My interest lies as much as some mens doth in their perturbations: who think they cannot do well but in evill times, nor so cunningly as in laying the *odium* of those sad events on others, wherewith themselves are most pleased, and whereof they have been not the least occasion.

And certainly, tis thought by many wise men, that the preposterous rigour, and unreasonable severity, which some men carried before them in *England*, was not the least incentive, that kindled, and blew up into those horrid flames, the sparks of discontent, which wanted not pre disposed fewel for Rebellion in *Ireland*; where despair being added to their former discontents, and the fears of utter extirpation

tirpation to their wonted oppressions, it was easie to provoke to an open Rebellion, a people prone enough, to break out to all exorbitant violence, both by some Principles of their Religion, and the naturall desires of liberty both to exempt themselves from their present restraints, and to prevent those after rigours wherewith they saw themselves apparently threatned, by the covetous zeal, and uncharitable fury of some men, who think it a great Argument of the truth of their Religion, to endure no other but their own.

God knows, as I can with Truth wash My hands in Innocency, as to as any guilt in that Rebellion; so I might wash them in My tears, as to the sad apprehensions I had, to see it spread so far, and make such wast. And this in a time, when distractions and jealousies here in *England*, made most men rather intent to their own safety, or designs they were driving, then to the relief of those, who were every day inhumanely butchered in *Ireland*: Whole tears and bloud might, if nothing else, have quenched, or at least for a time, repressed and smothered those sparks of Civil dissentions, and Jealousies, which in *England* some men most industriously scattered.

I would to God no man had been lesse affected with *Ireland's* sad estate then My Self; I offered to go My Self in Person upon that

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expedition; But some men were either afraid
should have any one Kingdom quieted; or
both they were to shoot at any mark here
else then My Self; or that any should have
the glory of My destruction but themselves.
Had My many offers been accepted, I am con-
fident neither the ruine had been so great,
nor the calamity so long, nor the remedy so
desperate.

So that, next to the sin of those, who be-
gan that Rebellion, theirs must needs be, who
either hindred the speedy suppressing of it
by Domestique dissentions, or diverted
the Aids, or exasperated the Rebels to the
most desperate resolutions and actions, by
threatning all extremities, not only to the
known heads, and chief incendiaries, but even
to the whole community of that Nation;
Resolving to destroy Root and Branch, men,
women and children; without any regard to
those usuall pleas for mercy, which Conque-
rours, not wholly barbarous, are wont to hear
from their own breasts, in behalf of those,
whose oppressive fears, rather then their ma-
lice, engaged them; or whose imbecility for
Sex and Age was such, as they could neither
lift up a hand against them, nor distinguish be-
tween their right hand and their left: Which
preposterous, and (I think) un-evangelicall
Zeal is too like that of the rebuked Disciples,
who

who would go no lower in their revenge, than to call for fire from Heaven upon whole Cities, for the repulse or neglect of a few; or like that of *Jacobs* sons, which the Father both blessed and cursed: chusing rather to use all extremities, which might drive men to desperate obstinacy, then to apply moderate remedies such as might punish some with exemplary Justice, yet disarm others, with tenders of mercy upon their submission, and our protection of them, from the fury of those, who would soon drown them, if they refused to swim down the popular stream with them.

But some kind of Zeal counts all mercifull moderation, luke-warmnesse; and had rather be cruell then counted cold, and is not seldom more greedy to kill the Bear for his skin, then for any harm he hath done. The confiscation of mens estates being more beneficiall, then the charity of saving their lives, or reforming their Errours.

When all proportionable succours of the poor Protestants in *Ireland* (who were daily massacred, and over-born with numbers of now desperate Enemies) were diverted and obstructed here; I was earnestly intreated and generally advised by the chief of the Protestant party there, to get them some respite and breathing by a cessation, without which they saw no probability (unlesse by miracle) to pre-

serve

serve the remnant that had yet escaped: God knows with how much commiseration and solicitous caution I carried on that businesse, by persons of Honour and Integrity, that so I might neither incourage the Rebels insolence, nor discourage the Protestants Loyalty and Patience.

Yet when this was effected in the best sort, that the necessity and difficulty of affaires would then permit, I was then to suffer again in My reputation and Honour, because I suffered not the Rebels utterly to devour the remaining handfuls of the Protestants there.

I thought that in all reason, the gaining of that respite could not be so much to the Rebels advantages (which some have highly calumniated against Me) as it might have been for the Protestants future, as well as present safety; If during the time of that Cessation, some men had had the grace to have laid *Ireland's* sad condition more to heart; and laid aside those violent motions, which were here carried on by those, that had better skill to let blood then stench it.

But in all the misconstructions of my actions, (which are prone to find more credulity in men to what is false, and evill, then love or charity to what is true and good) as I have no Judge but God above me, so I can have comfort to appeale to his omniscience, who doth
not

not therefore deny My Innocence, because he is pleased so far to try my patience, as he did his servant *Job's*.

I have enough to do to look to My own Conscience, and the faithfull discharge of My Trust as a KING; I have scarce leifure to consider those swarms of reproaches, which issue out of some mens mouths and hearts, as easily as smoke, or sparks do out of a furnace: Much lesse to make such prolix Apologies, which might give those men satisfaction: who are conscious to their own depth of wickednesse, and loath to believe any man not to be as bad as themselves.

'Tis Kingly to do well and to hear ill: If I can but act the one, I shall not much regard to bear the other.

I thank God I can hear with patience, as bad as my worst enemies can falsely say. And I hope I shall still do better then they desire, or deserve I should.

I believe it will at last appear, that they who first began to embroyle My other Kingdoms, are in great part guilty, if not of the first letting out, yet of the not-timely stopping those horrid effusions of blood in *Ireland*.

Which (whatever my Enemies please to say, or think) I looke upon, as that of My other Kingdoms, exhausted out of my own veins, no man being so much weakned by it, as myself.

self; And I hope, though mens unsatiable
cruelties never will, yet the mercy of God will
at length say to his justice, *It is enough*: and
command the Sword of Civil Wars to sheath
itself; his mercifull justice intending, I trust,
not our utter confusion, but our cure: the a-
batement of our sins, not the desolating of these
Nations.

*O my God, let those infinite mercies prevent us
once again, which I and my Kingdoms have for-
merly abused, and can never deserve should be re-
stored.*

*Thou seest how much cruelty among Christians
is acted under the colour of Religion; as if we
could not be Christians, unlesse we crucifie one a-
nother.*

*Because we have not more loved thy Truth, and
practised in charity, thou hast suffered a spirit of
error and bitterness, of mutuall and mortall ha-
red to rise among us.*

*O Lord, forgive wherein we have sinned, and
sanctifie what we have suffered.*

*Let our repentance be our recovery, as our great
sins have been our ruine.*

*Let not the miseries I and my Kingdoms have
hitherto suffered seem small to thee: but make our
sins appear to our consciences, as they are repre-
sented in the glasse of thy judgments; for thou ne-
ver punishest small failings with so severe afflicti-
ons.*

O therefore, according to the multitude of thy great mercies, pardon our sins, and remove thy judgments, which are very many, and very heavy.

Yet let our sins be ever more grievous to us, than thy judgments; and make us more willing to repent, than to be relieved; first give us the peace of penitent consciences, and then the tranquility of united Kingdoms.

In the Sea of our Saviours blood drown our sins, and through this red sea of our own blood bring us at last to a state of piety, peace and plenty.

As my publique relations to all, make me share in all my Subjects sufferings; so give me such pious sense of them, as becomes a Christian King and a loving Father of my People.

Let the scandalous and unjust reproaches cast upon me, be as a breath, more to kindle my compassion; Give me grace to heap charitable coles of fire upon their heads to melt them, whose malice and cruel Zeal hath kindled or kindred the quenching of those flames, which have so much wasted the three Kingdoms.

O rescue and assist these poor Protestants in Ireland, whom thou hast hitherto preserved.

And leade those in the waies of thy saving Truths, whose ignorance or errors have filled them with rebellious and destructive principles, which they act under an opinion, That they do thee good service.

Let the hand of thy justice be against those, who maliciously and despightfully have raised, or fomented those cruell and desperate Wars.

Thou that art far from destroying the Innocent with the Guilty, and the Erroneous with the Malicious; Thou that hadst pity on Niniveh for the many Children that were therein, give not over the whole stock of that populous and seduced Nation, to the wrath of those, whose covetousness makes them cruell; nor to their anger, which is too fierce, and therefore justly cursed.

Preserve, if it be thy will, in the midst of the furnace of thy severe justice, a Posterity which may praise thee for thy mercy.

And deal with Me, not according to mans unjust reproaches, but according to the Innocency of My hands in thy sight.

If I have desired, or delighted in the wofull day of My Kingdoms calamities, if I have not earnestly studied, and faithfully endeavoured the preventing and composing of these bloody distractions; then let thy hand be against Me, and My Fathers house. O Lord, thou see'st I have enemies enough of men; as I need not, so I should not dare thus to imprecate thy curse on Me and Mine, if My Conscience did not witnesse My integrity, which thou O Lord knowest right well; But I trust not to My own merit, but thy mercies, spare us O Lord, and be not angry with us for ever.

13. *Upon the Calling in of the Scots and their Comming.*

THe *Scots* are a Nation, upon whom I have not only common ties of Nature, Sovereignty, and Bounty, with My Father of blessed memory; but also speciall and late obligations of favours, having gratified the active Spirits among them so far, that I seemed to many, to prefer the desires of that Party before My own interest and Honour. But, I see, Royall bounty emboldens some men to aske, and act beyond all bounds of modesty and gratitude.

My charity, and Act of Pacification, forbid Me to reflect on former passages; wherein shall ever be far from letting any mans ingratitude, or inconstancy, make Me repent of what I granted them, for the publique good. I pray God it may so prove.

The comming again of that Party into *England*, with an Army, onely to conforme the Church to their late New modell, cannot but seeme as unreasonable, as they would have thought the same measure offered from hence to themselves.

Other errand I could never understand they had, (besides those common and vulgar
flourishes

flourishes for Religion and Liberty) save only to confirme the Presbyterian Copy they had set, by making this Church to write after them, though it were in bloody Characters.

Which designe and end, whether it will justifie the use of such violent meanes, before the divine Justice: I leave to their Consciences to judge, who have already felt the misery of the means, but not reaped the benefit of the end, either in this Kindome, or that.

Such knots and crosnesse of grain being objected here, as will hardly suffer that form which they cry up, as the only just reformation, and setting of Government and Discipline in Churches, to go on so smoothly here, as it might do in *Scotland*; and was by them imagined would have done in *England*, when so many of the *English* Clergy, through levity, or discontent, if no worse passion, suddenly quitted their former engagements to Episcopacy, and faced about to their Presbyterianery.

It cannot but seeme either passion, or some self-seeking, more then true Zeal, and pious Discretion, for any forraigne State or Church to prescribe such medicines only for others, which themselves have used, rather successlefully then commendably; not considering that the same Physick on different constitutions, wil have different operations; That

may kill one, which doth but cure another.

Nor do I know any such tough and malignant humours in the constitution of the *English* Church, which gentler applications than those of an Army, might not easily have removed: Nor is it so proper to hew out religious Reformations by the Sword, as to polish them by faire and equall disputations among those that are most concerned in the differences, whom not force, but Reason ought to convince.

But their design now, seemed rather to cut off all disputation here, then to procure a faire and equall one: For, it was concluded there that the *English* Clergy must conforme to the *Scots* pattern before ever they could be heard what they could say for themselves, or against the others way.

I could have wished fairer proceedings both for their credits, who urge things with such violence; and for other mens Consciences too, who can receive little satisfaction in these points which are maintained rather by Soldiers fighting in the Field, then Schollars disputing in free and learned Synods.

Sure in matters of Religion those truths gain most on Mens Judgements and Consciences, which are least urged with secular violence, which weakens Truth with prejudices

and is unreasonable to be used, till such means of rationall conviction hath been applied, as leaving no excuse for ignorance, condemns mens obstinacy to deserved penalties.

Which no charity will easily suspect of so many learned and pious Church-men in *England*; who being alwaies bred up, and conformable to the Government of Episcopacy; cannot so soon renounce both their former opinion and practice, only because that Party of the *Scots* will needs by force assist a like Party here, either to drive all Ministers, as sheep into the common fold of Presbyterie, or destroy them; at least fleece them, by depriving them of the benefit of their Flocks. If the *Scotch* sole Presbyterie were proved to be the only institution of Jesus Christ, for all Churches Government; yet I believe it would be hard to prove that Christ had given those *Scots*, or any other of My Subjects, Commission by the Sword to set it up in any of My Kingdoms, without My Consent.

What respect and obedience Christ and his Apostles paid to the chief Governours of States where they lived, is very clear in the Gospel; but that he, or they ever commanded to set up such a parity of Presbyters, and in such a way as those *Scots* endeavour, I think is not very disputable.

If Presbyterie in such a supremacy be an institution of Christ; sure it differs from all others; and is the first and only point of Christianity, that was to be planted and watered with so much Christian blood; whose effusion runs in a stream so contrary to that of the Primitive planters, both of Christianity and Episcopacy, which was with patient shedding of their own blood, not violent drawing of other mens; sure there is too much of Man in it, to have much of Christ, none of whose institutions were carried on, or begun with the temptations of Covetousnesse or Ambition; of both which this is vehemently suspected.

Yet was there never any thing upon the point, which those *Scots* had by Army or Commissioners to move Me with, by their many Solemn obtestations, and pious threatenings, but only this; to represent to Me the wonderfull necessity of setting up their Presbyterie in *England*, to avoid the further miseries of a War: which some men chiefly on this design at first had begun, and now further engaged themselves to continue.

What hinders that any Sects, Schisms, or Heresies, if they can get but numbers, strength and opportunity, may not, according to this opinion and pattern, set up their waies by the like methods of violence? all which Presbyterie

byterie seeks to suppress, and render odious under those names; when wise and learned men think, that nothing hath more marks of Schism and Sectarism, then this Presbyterian way, both as to the Ancient, and still most Universall way of the Church-government, and especially as to the particular Laws and Constitutions of this *English* Church, which are not yet repealed, nor are like to be for Me, till I see more Rationall and Religious motives then Souldiers use to carry in their Knapfacks.

But we must leave the successe of all to God, who hath many waies (having first taken us off from the folly of our opinions, and fury of our passion) to teach us those rules of true Reason, and peaceable Wisdom, which is from above, tending most to Gods glory, and his Churches good; which I think My Self so much the more bound in Conscience to attend, with the most judicious Zeal and care, by how much I esteem the Church above the State, the glory of Christ above Mine Own; and the salvation of mens Souls above the preservation of their Bodies and Estates.

Nor may any men, I think, without sin and presumption, forcibly endeavour to cast the Churches under My care and tuition, into the moulds they have fancied and fashioned to their designs, till they have first gained
My

My consent, and resolved, both My own and other mens Consciences by the strength of their Reasons.

Other violent motions, which are neither Manly, Christian, nor Loyall, shall never either shake or settle My Religion, nor any mans else, who knows what Religion means: And how far it is removed from all Faction, whose proper engine is force; the arbitrator of beasts, not of reasonable men, much lesse of humble Christians, and Loyall Subjects, in matters of Religion.

But men are prone to have such high conceits of themselves, that they care not what cost they lay out upon their opinions; especially those, that have some temptation of gain, to recompence their losses and hazards.

Yet I was not more scandalized at the *Scott* Armies comming in against My will, and their forfeiture of so many obligations of duty, and gratitude to Me: then I wondred, how those here could so much distrust Gods assistance; who so much pretended Gods cause to the People, as if they had the certainty of some divine Revelation; considering they were more then competently furnished with My Subjects Arms and Ammunition; My Navy by Sea, My Forts, Castles, and Cities by Land.

But

But I find, that men jealous of the Justifiableness of their doings, and designs before God, never think they have humane strength enough to carry their work on, seem it never so plausible to the People; what cannot be justified in Law or Religion, had need be fortified with Power.

And yet such is the inconstancy that attends all minds engaged in violent motion, that whom some of them one while earnestly invite to come in to their assistance; others of them soon after were weary of, and with nauseating cast them out: what one Party thought to rivet to a settlednes by the strength and influence of the *Scots*, that the other rejects and contemnes; at once, despising the Kirk Government, & Discipline of the *Scots*, and frustrating the successe of so chargeable, more then charitable assistance: For, sure the Church of *England* might have purchased at a farre cheaper rate, the truth and happinesse of Reformed government and discipline (if it had been wanting) though it had entertained the best Divines of Christendome to their advice in a full and free Synod; which, I was ever willing to, and desirous of, that matters being impartially settled, might be more satisfactory to all, and more durable.

But much of Gods justice, and mans folly will at length be discovered, through all the filmes

filmes and pretensions of Religion, in which Politicians wrap up their designs; In vaine do men hope to build their piety on the ruins of Loyalty. Nor can those confederations or designs be durable, when Subjects make bankrupt of their Allegiance, under pretence of setting up a quicker trade for Religion.

But, as My best Subjects of *Scotland* deverserted Me, so I cannot think that the most are gone so far from Me, in a prodigality of their love and respects towards Me, as to make Me to despaire of their returne; when besides the bonds of nature and Conscience, which they have to Me, all Reason and true Policy will teach them, that their chiefest interest consists in their fidelity to the Crowne, not in their serviceablenesse to any Party of the People, to a neglect and betraying of My safety and Honour for their own advantages: However the lesse cause I have to trust to men, the more I shall apply My self to God.

The Troubles of My Soule are enlarged, O Lord, bring thou Me out of My distresse.

Lord direct thy Servant in the wayes of that pious simplicity, which is the best policy.

Deliver Me from the combined strength of those, who have so much of the Serpents subtilty, that they forget the Doves Innocency.

Though hand joyne in hand, yet let them not

pre-

prevaile against My soule, to the betraying of My Conscience, and Honour.

Thou, O Lord, canst turne the hearts of those Parties in both Nations, as thou didst the men of Judah and Israel, to restore David with as much loyal Zeal, as they did with inconstancy and eagernesse pursue Him.

Preserve the love of thy Truth and uprightnesse in Me, and I shall not despaire of My Subjects affections returning towards Me.

Thou canst soon cause the overflowing Seas to ebbe, and retire back againe to the bounds which thou hast appointed for them.

O My God, I trust in thee; let Me not be ashamed; let not Mine enemies triumph over Me.

Let them be ashamed who transgresse without a cause; let them be turned back that persecute My Soule.

Let integrity and uprightnesse preserve Me, for I wait on thee O Lord.

Redeeme thy Church, O God, out of all its Troubles.

14. *Upon the Covenant.*

THe *Presbyterian Scots* are not to be hired at the ordinary rate of *Auxiliaries*; no thing will induce them to engage, till those that call them in, have pawned their Soules to them, by a Solemne League and Covenant.

Where many engines of religious and fair pretensions are brought chiefly to batter, or rase *Episcopacy*; This they make the grand evil Spirit, which, with some other Imps purposely added, to make it more odious, and terrible to the Vulgar, must by so solempne charme & exorcism be cast out of this Church after more then a thousand years possession here, from the first plantation of Christianity in this Island, and an universall prescription of time and practice in all other Churches since the Apostles times till this last Century.

But no Antiquity must plead for it, *Presbyterie*, like a young Heyre, thinks the Father hath lived long enough, and impatient not to be in the Bishops Chaire & Authority (though Lay-men go away with the Revenues) all art is used to sink *Episcopacy*, and lanch *Presbyterie* in *England*; which was lately boyed up in *Scotland* by the like artifice of a Covenant.

Although

Although I am unsatisfied with many passages in that Covenant (some referring to My Self with very dubious and dangerous limitations) yet I chiefly wonder at the design and drift touching the Discipline and government of the Church; and such a manner or carrying them on to new waies, by Oaths and Covenants; where it is hard for men to be engaged by no lesse, then swearing for, or against those things, which are of no clear morall necessity, but very disputable, and controverted among learned and godly men: whereto the application of Oaths can hardly be made and enjoyed with that judgment, and certainly in ones self, or that charity and candour to others of different opinion, as I think Religion requires, which never refuses fair and equable deliberations; yea, and dissentings too, in matters only probable.

The enjoying of Oaths upon People must needs in things doubtfull be dangerous, as in things unlawfull, damnable; and no lesse superfluous, where former religious and legall Engagements, bound men sufficiently, to all necessary duties. Nor can I see how they will reconcile such an Innovating Oath and Covenant, with that former Protestation which was so lately taken, to maintain the Religion established in the Church of *England*: since they account Discipline so great a part of Religion.

But

But ambitious minds never think they have laid snares and gins enough to catch and hold the Vulgar credulity : for by such pollick and seemingly pious stratagems, they think to keep the populacy fast to their Parties under the terror of perjury: Whereas certainly all honest and wise men ever thought themselves sufficiently bound by former ties of Religion, Allegiance and Laws, to God and man.

Nor can such after-Contracts, devised and imposed by a few men in a declared Party without My consent, and without any like power or precedent from Gods or mans laws be ever thought by judicious men sufficient either to absolve or slacken those morall and eternall bonds of duty which lie upon all My Subjects consciences both to God and Me.

Yet as things now stand, good men shall least offend God or Me, by keeping their Covenant in honest and lawfull waies; since I have the charity to think, that the chief end of the Covenant in such mens intentions, was, to preserve Religion in purity, and the Kingdoms in peace: To other then such ends and means they cannot think themselves engaged nor will those, that have any true touches of Conscience endeavour to carry on the best designs (much lesse such as are, and will be daily more apparently factious and ambitious)

by any unlawfull meanes, under that title of the Covenant: unlesse they dare preferre ambitious, dangerous, and un-authorized novelties, before their knowne and sworne duties, which are indispenfable, both to God and My self.

I am prone to believe and hope, That many, who take the Covenant, are yet firme to this judgement, That such later Vows, Oathes, or Leagues, can never blot out those former gravings, and characters, which by just and lawfull Oathes were made upon their Souls.

That which makes such Confederations by way of solemn Leagues and Covenants more to be suspected, is, That they are the common road, used in all factious and powerful perturbations of State or Church: where formalities of extraordinary zeal & piety are never more studied and elaborate, then, when Politicians most agitate desperate designs against all that is settled, or sacred in Religion, & Laws, which by such scrues are cunningly, yet forcibly, wrested by secret steps, and lesse sensible degrees, from their known rule and wonted practice, to comply with the humours of those men, who aime to subdue all to their owne will and power, under the disguises of Holy Combinations.

Which cords and wythes will hold mens Consciences no longer, then force attends

and twists them : for every man soon grows his owne Pope, and easily absolves himself of those ties, which, not the commands of God word, or the Lawes of the Land, but only the subtilty and terrour of a Party cast upon him; either superfluous and vaine, when they were sufficiently tied before; or fraudulent and injurious, if by such after ligaments they find the Imposers really ayming to dissolve or suspend their former, just, and necessary obligations.

Indeed, such illegall wayes seldome, or never, indeed the engaging men more to duties but only to Parties; therefore it is not regarded how they keep their Covenants in point of piety pretended, provided they adhere firmly to the Party and Designe intended.

I see the Imposers of it are content to make their Covenant like Manna (not that it came from Heaven, as this did) agreeable to every mans palate and relish, who will but swallow it : They admit any mens senses of it, though divers or contrary; with many salvoes, cautions, and reservations, so as they crosse not the Chiefe Designe which is laid against the Church, and Me.

It is enough if they get but the reputation of a seeming increase to their Party; so little do men remember that God is not mocked.

In such latitudes of sense, I believe many such

that love Me, and the Church well, may have taken the Covenant, who are yet not so fondly and superstitiously taken by it, as now to act clearly against both all piety and loyalty: who first yielded to it, more to prevent that imminent violence and ruin, which hung over their heads in case they wholly refused it, then for any value of it, or devotion to it.

Wherein, the latitude of some generall Clauses may (perhaps) serve somewhat to relieve them, as of *Doing and endeavouring what lawfully they may, in their Places and Callings, and according to the Word of God*: for, these (indeed) carry no man beyond those bounds of good Conscience, which are certain and fixed, either in Gods Laws, as to the generall; or the Laws of the State and Kingdom, as to the particular regulation and exercise of mens duties.

I would to God such as glory most in the name of *Covenanters*, would keep themselves within those lawfull bounds, to which God hath called them: Surely it were the best way to expiate the rashnesse of taking it: which must needs then appear, when besides the want of a full and lawfull Authority at first to enjoin it, it shall actually be carried on beyond and against those ends which were in it specified and pretended. I willingly forgive such mens taking the Covenant, who keep

it within such bounds of Piety, Law, and Loyaltie, as can never hurt either the Church, My Self, or the Publique Peace: Against which, no mans lawfull Calling can engage him.

As for that Reformation of the Church, which the Covenant pretends, I cannot think it just or comely, that by the partiall advice of a few Divines (of so soft and servile tempers, as disposed them to so sudden acting and compliance, contrary to their former judgments, profession, and practice) such foul scandals and suspicions should be cast upon the Doctrine and Government of the Church of *England*, as was never done (that I have heard) by any that deserved the name of *Reformed Churches* abroad, nor by any men of learning and candour at home: all whose judgments I cannot but prefer before any mens now factiously engaged.

No man can be more forward then My Self to carry on all due Reformatations, with mature judgment, and a good Conscience, in what things I shall (after impartiall advice) be by Gods Word, and right reason, convinced to be amisse, I have offered more then ever the fullest, freest, and wisest Parliaments did desire.

But the sequele of some mens action makes it evident, that the main Reformation intended, is the abasing of Episcopacy into Presbyterianisme.

byterie, and the robbing the Church of its Lands and Revenues: For, no men have been more injuriously used, as to their legall Rights then the Bishops and Church-men. These, as the fatter Deer, must be destroyed; the other Rascal-herd of Schisms, Heresies, &c. being lean, may enjoy the benefit of a Toleration: Thus *Naboth's Vineyard* made him the only Blasphemer of his City, and fit to die. Still I see, while the breath of Religion fills the Sails, Profit is the Compasse, by which Factious men steer their course in all seditious Commotions.

I thank God, as no man lay more open to the sacrilegious temptation of usurping the Churches Lands, and Revenues (which issuing chiefly from the Crown, are held of it, and legally can revert only to the Crown, with My consent) so I have alwaies had such a perfect abhorrence of it in My Soul, that I never found the least inclination to such sacrilegious Reformings: yet no man hath a greater desire to have Bishops and all Church-men so reformed, that they may best deserve and use, not only what the pious munificence of My Predecessours hath given to God and the Church, but all other additions of Christian bounty.

But no necessity shall ever, I hope, drive Me or Mine, to invade or sell the Priests Lands,

which both *Pharaoh's* divinity, and *Joseph's* true piety abhorred to do; so unjust I think it both in the eye of Reason and Religion, to deprive the most sacred employment of all due encouragements; and like that other hard-hearted *Pharaoh*, to withdraw the Straw, and encrease the Task; so pursuing the oppressed Church, as some have done, to the red sea of a Civil War, where nothing but a miracle can save either It, or Him, who esteems it His greatest Title to be called, and His chiefest glory to be *The Defender of the Church*, both in its true Faith, and its just frutions; equally abhorring *Sacrilege* and *Apostacy*.

I had rather live as My Predecessour *Henry 3.* sometime did, on the Churches Alms, then violently to take the bread out of Bishops and Ministers mouths.

The next work will be *Jeroboam's* reformation, consecrating the meanest of the People to be Priests in *Israel*; to serve those Golden Calves who have enriched themselves with the Churches Patrimony and Dowry; which how it thrived both with Prince, Priests and People, is well enough known: And so it will be here, when from the tuition of Kings and Queens, which have been nursing Fathers and Mothers of this Church, it shall be at their allowance, who have already discovered what hard Fathers and Stepmothers they will be.

If the poverty of *Scotland* might, yet the plenty of *England* cannot excuse the envy and rapine of the Churches Rights and Revenues.

I cannot so much as pray God to prevent those sad consequences, which will inevitably follow the parity and poverty of Ministers, both in Church and State; since I thinke it no lesse then a mocking and tempting of God, to desire him to hinder those mischiefs whose occasions and remedies are in our own power, it being every mans sin not to avoid the one, and not to use the other.

There are waies enough to repair the breaches of the State without the ruines of the Church; as I would be a Restorer of the one, so I would not be an Oppressour of the other, under the pretence of Publique Debts: The occasions contracting them were bad enough, but such a discharging of them would be much worse; I pray God neither I, nor Mine, may be accessary to either.

To thee, O Lord, do I addresse My prayer, beseeching thee to pardon the rashnesse of My Subjects Swearings, and to quicken their sense and observation of those just, morall, and indispensable bonds, which thy Word, and the Lawes of this Kingdome have laid upon their Consciencess; From which no pretentions of Piety and Re-

formation are sufficient to absolve them, or to engage them to any contrary practises.

Make them at length seriously to consider, that nothing violent and injurious can be religious.

Thou allowest no mans committing Sacrilege under the zeale of abhorring Idols.

Suffer not sacrilegious designs to have the countenance of religious ties.

Thou hast taught us by the wisest of Kings, that it is a snare to take things that are holy, and after Vowes to make enquiry.

Ever keep thy servant from consenting to perjurious and sacrilegious rapines, that I may not have the brand and curse to all posterity of robbing Thee and thy Church, of what thy bounty hath given us, and thy clemency hath accepted from us, wherewith to encourage Learning and Religion.

Though My Treasures are Exhausted, My Revenues Diminished, and My Debts Encreased, yet never suffer Me to be tempted to use such profane Reparations; lest a coal from thine altar set such a fire on My Throne and Conscience as will be hardly quenched.

Let not the Debts and Engagements of the Publique, which some mens folly and prodigality hath contracted, be an occasion to impoverish thy Church.

The State may soon recover, by thy blessing of peace upon us; The Church is never likely, in

times,

times, where the Charity of most men is growne so cold, and their Religion so illiberall.

Continue to those that serve Thee and thy Church all those encouragements, which by the will of the pious Donours, and the justice of the Lawes are due unto them; and give them grace to deserve and use them aright to thy glory, and the relief of the poore; That thy Priests may be cloathed with righteousnessse, and the poor may be satisfied with bread.

Let not holy things be given to Swine; nor the Churches bread to Dogs; rather let them go about the City, grin like a Dog, and grudge that they are not satisfied.

Let those sacred morsels, which some men have already by violence devoured, never digest with them, nor theirs; Let them be as Naboth's Vineyard to Ahab, gall in their mouths, rottenness to their names, a moth to their Families, and a sting to their Consciences.

Break in sunder, O Lord, all violent and sacrilegious Confederations, to doe wickedly and injuriously.

Divide their hearts and tongues who have banded together against the Church and State, that the folly of such may be manifest to all men, and proceed no further.

But so favour My righteous dealing, O Lord, that in the mercies of thee, the most High, I may never miscarry.

15. *Upon the many jealousies raised, and Scandals cast upon the King, to stir up the people against Him.*

IF I had not My own Innocency, and Gods protection, it were hard for Me to stand out against those stratagems and conflicts of malice, which by Fallities seek to oppresse the Truth; and by Jealousies to supply the defect of Reall causes, which might seem to justify so unjust Engagements against Me.

And indeed, the worst effects of open Hostility come short of these Designs: For, I can more willingly loose My Crownes, then My Credit; nor are My Kingdomes so deare to Me, as My Reputation and Honour.

Those must have a period with My life; but these may survive to a glorious kind of Immortality, when I am dead and gone: A good name being the embalming of Princes, and a sweet consecrating of them to an Eternity of love and gratitude among Posterity.

Those foule and false aspersions were secret engines at first employed against My peoples love of Me: that undermining their opinion and value of Me, My enemies, and theirs too, might

might at once blow up their affections, and
batter down their loyalty.

Wherein yet I thank God, the detriment
of My Honour is not so afflictive to Me, as the
sin and danger of My peoples souls, whose
eyes once blinded with such mists of suspi-
cions, they are soon mis-led into the most de-
perate principles of actions: wherein they do
not only, not consider their sin and danger,
but glory in their zealous adventures; while I
am rendred to them so fit to be destroyed, that
many are ambitious to merit the name of My
Destroyers; Imagining they then fear God
most, when they least honour their King.

I thank God, I never found, but My pity
was above My anger; nor have My passions
ever so prevailed against Me, as to exclude My
most compassionate prayers for them, whom
devout errors more than their own malice
have betrayed to a most religious Rebellion.

I had the charity to interpret, that most
part of My Subjects fought against My sup-
posed Errours, not My Person; and intended
to mend Me, not to end Me: And I hope that
God pardoning their Errours, hath so far ac-
cepted and answered their good intentions,
that as He hath yet preserved Me, so He hath
by these afflictions prepared Me, both to do
Him better service, and My people more
good, then hitherto I have done.

I do not more willingly forgive their Injuries, which occasioned their loyall Injuries, then I am ambitious by all Princely means to redeem them for their unjust suspitions, and reward them for their good intentions.

I am too conscious to My own Affection toward the generality of My people, to suspect theirs to Me; nor shall the malice of My Enemies ever be able to deprive Me of the comfort, which that confidence gives Me; I therefore never gratifie the spightfulnesse of a few, with any sinister thoughts of all their Allegiance whom pious frauds have seduced.

The worst some mens ambition can do, shall never perswade me, to make so bad interpretations of most of My Subjects actions; which possibly may be Erroneous, but not Heretical in point of Loyaltie.

The sense of the Injuries done unto My Subjects is sharp, as those done to My Self, our welfares Being inseparable; in this only they suffer more then My Self, that they are animated by some seducers to injure at once both themselves and Me.

For this is not enough to the malice of My Enemies, that I be afflicted; but it must be done by such instruments, that My affliction grieve Me not more, then this doth, that I am afflicted by those, whose prosperity I ear-

nestly

ly desire, and whose seduction I heartily
deplore.

If they had been My open and forraign
enemies, I could have born it; but they must
be My own Subjects, who are, next to My
children, dear to Me: And for the restoring
whose tranquillity, I could willingly be the
sacrifice; If I did not evidently foresee, that by
the divided Interests of their and Mine En-
emies, as by contrary winds, the storm of their
injuries would be rather encreased then al-
layed.

I had rather prevent My peoples ruine then
rule over them; nor am I so ambitious of
that Dominion, which is but My Right, as of
their happinesse, if I could expiate or coun-
tervail such a way of obtaining it, by the high-
injuries of Subjects committed against their
Soveraign.

Yet I had rather suffer all the miseries of
life, and die many deaths, then shamefully to
desert, or dishonourably to betray My own
just Rights and Sovereignty; thereby to gra-
tify the ambition, or justify the malice of My
Enemies; between whose malice, and other
mens mistakes, I put as great a difference, as
between an ordinary Ague, and the Plague;
or the Itch of Noveltie, and the Leprosie of
Disloyaltie.

As Liars need have good Memories, so Ma-
licious

licious persons need good inventions; that their calumnies may fit every mans fancy; and what their reproaches want of truth, they make up with number and shew.

My patience (I thank God) will better serve Me to bear, and My charity to forgive, than My leifure to answer the many false Aspersions which somemen have cast upon Me.

Did I not more consider My Subjects Satisfaction, then My own Vindication; I should never have given the malice of some men the pleasure, as to see Me take notice of, or remember what they say, or object.

I would leave the Authors to be punished by their own evil manners, and seared Consciences, which will, I believe, in a short time then they be aware of, both confute and revenge all those black and false Scandals which they have cast on Me; And make the world see, there is as little truth in them, as there was little worth in the broaching of them, or Civility (I need not say Loyaltie) in the not-suppressing of them; whose credit and reputation, even with the people, shall ere long be quite blasted with the breath of that same furnace of popular obloquy, and detraction, which they have studied to heat and inflame to the highest degree of infamy, and where they have sought to cast and consume My Name and Honour.

First, nothing gave Me more cause to suspect, and search My own Innocency; then when I observed so many forward to engage against Me, who had made great professions of singular piety; For this gave the vulgar minds so bad a reflection upon Me, and My Cause, as if it had been impossible to adhere to Me, and not withall part from God; to think or speak well of Me, and not to Blaspheme him; so many were perswaded that these two were utterly inconsistent, to be at once Loyall to Me, and truly Religious toward God.

Not but that I had (I thank God) many with Me, which were both Learned and Religious, (much above that ordinary size, and that vulgar proportion, wherein some men glory so much) who were so well satisfied in the cause of My sufferings, that they chose rather to suffer with Me, then forsake Me.

Nor is it strange that so Religious Pretensions as were used against Me, should be to many wel-minded men a great temptation to oppose Me; Especially, being urged by such popular Preachers, as think it no sin to lie for God, and what they please to call Gods Cause, cursing all that will not curse with them; looking so much at, and crying up the goodnesse of the end propounded, that they consider not the lawfulness of the means used,
nor

nor the depth of the mischief, chiefly plotted and intended.

The weakness of these mens judgements must be made up by their clamours & activities.

It was a great part of some mens Religion to scandalize Me and Mine; they thought they could not be true, if they cried not down Mine as false.

I thank God, I have had more triall of his grace, as to the constancy of My Religion in the Protestant Profession of the Church of *England*, both abroad, and at home, then ever they are like to have.

Nor do I know any exception, I am so liable to, in their opinion, as too great a fixedness in that Religion, whose judicious and solid grounds, both from Scripture, and Antiquity, will not give My Conscience leave to approve or consent to those many dangerous and divided Innovations, which the bold Ignorance of some men would needs obtrude upon Me and My People.

Contrary to those well tried foundations both of Truth, and Order, which men of far greater Learning, and clearer Zeal, have settled in the Confession and Constitution of this Church in *England*; which many former Parliaments in the most calme, and unpassionate times, have oft confirmed; In which I shall ever, by Gods help, preserve, as be-
lieving

believing it hath most of Primitive Trath and Order.

Nor did My using the assistance of some Papists, which were My Subjects, any way fight against My Religion, as some men would needs interpret it : especially those who least of all men cared whom they imployed, or what they said and did, so they might prevail.

'Tis strange that so wise men, as they would be esteemed, should not conceive, That differences of perswasion in matters of Religion may easily fall out, where there is the sameness of duty, Allegiance and subjection. The first they own as men, and Christians to God ; the second they owe to Me in Common, as their KING ; different professions in point of Religion cannot (any more then in civill Trades) take away the community of relations either to Parents, or to Princes : And where is there such an *Ooglio* or medley of various Religions in the world again, as those men entertain in their service (who find most fault with Me) without any scruple, as to the diversitie of their Sects and Opinions?

It was, indeed, a foul and indelible shame, for such as would be counted Protestants, to enforce Me, a declared Protestant, their Lord and King, to a necessary use of Papists, or any other, who did but their duty to help Me to defend My Self.

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Nor

Nor did I more then is lawfull for any King: in such exigents to use the aide of any his Subjects.

I am sorry the Papists should have a greater sense of their Allegiance, then many Protestant Professours; who seem to have learned, and to practice the worst Principles of the worst Papists.

Indeed, it had been a very impertinent and unseasonable scruple in Me (and very pleasing no doubt to My Enemies) to have been then disputing the points of different belief in My Subjects, when I was disputed with by Swords points: and when I needed the help of My Subjects as men, no lesse then their prayers as Christians.

The noise of My Evil Counsellours was another usefull devise for those, who were impatient any mens counsels but their own, should be followed in Church and State; who were so eager in giving Me better counsel, that they would not give Me leave to take it with freedom, as a Man; or honour, as a King, making their counsels more like a drench that must be poured down, then a draught which might be fairly and leisurely drank, if I liked it.

I will not justifie beyond humane error and frailties My Self, or My Counsellours. They might be subject to some miscarriage

any yet such as were farre more reparable by second and better thoughts, then those enormous extravagances, wherewith some men have now even weldred, and almost quite lost both Church and State.

The event of things at last will make it evident to My Subjects, that had I followed the worst Councils, that My worst Councillours ever had the boldnesse to offer to Me, or My selfe any inclination to use; I could not so soon have brought both Church and State in three flourishing Kingdomes, to such a chaos of confusions, and Hell of miseries, as some have done; out of which they cannot, nor will not in the midst of their many great advantages, redeeme either Me, or My Subjects.

No Men were more willing to complaine, then I was to redresse what I saw in Reason was either done or advised amisse; and this I thought I had done, even beyond the expectation of moderate men: who were sorry to see Me prone even to injure My self, out of a Zeal to relieve My Subjects.

But other mens insatiable desire of revenge upon Me, My Court, and My Clergy; hath wholly beguiled both Church and State, of the benefit of all My, either Retractions, or Concessions; and withall, hath deprived all those (now so zealous Persecutors) both of the

comfort and reward of their former pretended persecutions, wherein they so much gloried among the vulgar; & in which, indeed, a true humble Christian will so highly prize, as rather not to be relieved, then be revenged, so as to be bereaved of that Crowne of Christian Patience, which attends humble and injured sufferers.

Another artifice used to withdraw My peoples affections from Me, to their designs, was The noise and ostentation of liberty, which men are not more prone to desire, then unable to bear in the popular sense; which is to do what every man liketh best.

If the Divinest liberty be to will what men should, and to do what they so will, according to Reason, Laws, and Religion; I envy not My Subjects that liberty, which is all I desire to enjoy My self; so far am I from the desire of oppressing theirs: Nor were those Lords and Gentlemen which assisted Me so prodigal of their liberties, as with their Lives and Fortunes to help on the enslaving of themselves and their posterities.

As to Civill Immunities, none but such as desire to drive on their Ambitious and Covetous designs over the ruines of Church and State, Prince, Peers, and People, will ever desire greater Freedomes then the Laws allow; whose bounds good men count their

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Ornament and Protection; others their Manacles and Oppression.

Nor is it just any man should expect the reward and benefit of the Law, who despiseth its rule and direction; losing justly his safety while he seekes an unreasonable liberty.

Time will best inform My Subjects, that those are the best preservers of their true liberties, who allow themselves the least licentiousness against, or beyond the Laws.

They will feele it at last to their cost, that it is impossible those men should be really tender to their fellow-subjects liberties, who have the hardiness to use their King with so severe restraints; against all Laws, both Divine and Humane, under which, yet, I wil rather perish, then complaine to those, who want nothing to compleat the mirth, and tryumph, but such musick.

In point of true consciencious tenderness (attended with humility and meekness, not with proud and arrogant activity, which seeks to hatch every egge of different opinion to a Faction or Schism) I have oft declared how little I desire My Laws and Scepter should intrench on Gods Sovereignty, which is the only King of mens Consciences; and yet he hath laid such restraints upon men, as commands them to be subject for Conscience sake,

giving no men liberty to break the Law established, further then with meeknesse and patience, they are content to suffer the penalties annexed, rather then perturb the publique Peace.

The truth is, some mens thirst after Novelties, others despair to releive the necessities of their Fortunes, or satisfie their Ambition, in peaceable times, (distrusting Gods providence, as well as their own merits) were the secret (but principall) impulsives to these popular Commotions, by which Subjects have been perswaded to expend much of those plentiful estates they got, and enjoyed under My Government, in peaceable times; which yet must now be blasted with the odious reproaches, which impotent malice can invent; and My selfe exposed to all those contempts, which may most diminish the Majesty of a King, and encrease the ungrateful insolencies of My People.

For mine Honour, I am well assured, that as mine Innocency is clear before God, in point of any calumnies they object, so My reputation shall like the Sun (after Owles and Bats have had their freedome in the night and darker times) rise and recover it self to such a degree of splendour, as those fatall birds shall be grieved to behold, and unable to bear. For never were any Princes more glorious

than those whom God hath suffer'd to be tri-
ed in the furnace of afflictions by their injuri-
ous Subjects.

And who knows but the just and mercifull
God will do Me good, for some mens hard,
false, and evil speeches against Me; wherein
they speak rather what they wish, then what
they believe, or know.

Nor can I suffer so much in point of Ho-
nour, by those rude and scandalous Pamphlets
(which like fire in great conflagrations, fly up
and down to set all places on like flames)
then those men do, who pretending to so
much piety, are so forgetfull of their duty to
God and Me: By no way ever vindicating the
Majesty of their KING against any of those,
who contrary to the precept of God, and
precedent of Angels, *speake evil of dignities,*
and bring railing accusations against those, who
are honoured with the name of Gods.

But 'tis no wonder if men not fearing God,
should not Honour their KING.

They will easily contemn such shadows of
God, who reverence not that Supreme, and
adorable Majesty, in comparison of whom all
the glory of Men and Angels is but obscurity;
yet he hath graven such Characters of divine
Authority, and Sacred Power upon Kings, as
none may without sin seek to blot them out.
Nor shall their black veils be able to hide the

shining of My face, while God gives Me a heart frequently and humbly to converse with him, from whom alone are all the emanations of true glory and majesty.

Thou, O Lord, knowest my reproach, and my dishonour, my Adversaries are all before thee.

My Soul is among Lyons, among them that are set on fire, even the Sons of Men; whose teeth are spears and arrows; their tongue a sharp sword.

Mine enemies reproach me all the day long, and those that are mad against me are sworn together.

O my God, how long shall the sons of men turn my glory into shame? how long shall they love vanity, and seek after lies?

Thou hast heard the reproaches of wicked men on every side: Hold not thy peace, lest my Enemies prevail against me, and lay mine Honour in the dust.

Thou, O Lord, shalt destroy them that speak lies: the Lord will abhor both the blond-thirsty, and deceitfull men.

Make my righteousness to appear as the light, and mine innocency to shine forth as the Sun at noon day.

Suffer not my silence to betray mine innocence, nor my displeasure, my patience; That after my Saviours example, being reviled, I may not revile again; and being cursed by them, I may bless them;

Thou

Thou that wouldst not suffer Shimei's tongue to go unpunished; when by thy judgments on David he might seem to justifie his disdainfull reproaches, give me grace to intercede with thy mercy for these my enemies; that the reward of false and lying tongues, even hot burning coles of eternall fire, may not be brought upon them.

Let my prayers, and patience, be as water to cool and quench their tongues, who are already set on fire with the fire of Hel, and tormented with those malicious flames.

Let me be happy to refute, and put to silence their evil-speaking by well-doing; and let them enjoy not the fruits of their lips, but of my prayer for their repentance, and thy pardon.

Teach me David's patience and Hezekiah's devotion, that I may look to thy mercy through mans malice, and see thy justice in their sin.

Let Sheba's seditious speeches, Rabshekah's railing, and Shimei's cursing, provoke, as my humble prayer to thee, so thy renewed blessing toward me.

Though they curse, do thou blesse, and I shall be blessed; and made a blessing to my people.

That the stone which some builders refuse, may become the head stone of the corner.

Look down from heaven, and save me from the reproach of them that would swallow me up.

Hide me in the secret of thy presence, from the pride of man, & keep me from the strife of tongues.

16. Upon

16. *Upon the Ordinance against the Common-Prayer-Book.*

IT is no news to have all Innovations ushered in with the name of Reformation in Church and State, by those, who seeking to gain reputation with the Vulgar for their extraordinary parts, and piety, must needs undo what ever was formerly settled never so well and wisely.

So hardly can the pride of those that study Novelties, allow former times any share or degree of wisdom or godlinesse.

And because matter of prayer and devotion to God justly bears a great part in Religion (being the Souls more immediate converse with the Divine Majesty) nothing could be more plausible to the People then to tell them, They served God amisse in that point.

Hence our publique Liturgie, or Forms of constant Prayers must be (not amended, in what upon free and publique advice might seem to sober men inconvenient for matter or manner, to which I should easily consent, but) wholly cashiered, and abolished, and after many popular contempts offered to the Book, and those that used it according to their Consciences, and the Laws in force, it must be crucified

crucified by an Ordinance, the better to please either those men, who gloried in their extemporary veyne and fluency: or others, who conscious to their own formality in the use of it, though they fully expiated their sin of not using it aright, by laying all the blame upon it, and a totall refection of it as a dead letter, thereby to excuse the deadness of their hearts.

As for the matter contained in the Booke, sober and learned men have sufficiently vindicated it against the cavils and exceptions of those, who thought it a part of piety to make what prophane objections they could against it; especially for Popery and Superstition; whereas no doubt the Liturgy was exactly conformed to the doctrine of the Church of *England*; and this by all Reformed Churches is confessed to be most sound and Orthodox.

For the manner of using Set and prescribed Formes, there is no doubt but that wholesome words being knowne and fitted to mens understandings, are soonest received into their hearts, and aptest to excite and carry along with them judicious and fervent affections.

Nor doe I see any reason why Christians should be weary of a wel-composed Liturgy (as I hold this to be) more then all other things, wherein the Constancy abates nothing of the excellency and usefulness.

I could never see any Reason, why any Christian

stian should abhor, or be forbidden to use the same Formes of prayer, since he prayes to the same God, believes in the same Saviour, professeth the same Truths, reads the same Scriptures, hath the same duties upon him, and feelsthe same daily wants for the most part, both inward and outward, which are common to the whole Church.

Sure we may as wel before-hand know what we pray, as to whom we pray; and in what words, as to what sence; when we desire the same things, what hinders we may not use the same words? our appetite and digestion too may be good when we use, as we pray for, *our daily bread.*

Some men, I hear, are so impatient not to use in all their devotions their own invention, and gifts, that they not only disuse (as too many) but wholly cast away and contemn the *Lords Prayer*; whose great guilt is, that it is the warrant and originall pattern of all set Liturgies, in the Christian Church.

I ever thought that the proud ostentation of mens abilities for invention, and the vaine affectations of variety for expression, in Publique prayer, or any sacred administrations, merits a greater brand of sin, then that which they call Coldnesse and Barrennesse: Nor are men in those novelties lesse subject to formall and superficiall tempers (as to their hearts)

then

then in the use of constant Forms, where not the words but mens hearts are to blame.

I make no doubt but a man may be very formal in the most extemporary variety; and very fervently devout in the most wonted expressions: Nor is God more a God of variety, then of constancy: Nor are constant Formes of Prayer more likely to flat and hinder the Spirit of prayer, and devotion, then un-premeditated and confused variety to distract, and lose it.

Though I am not against a grave, modest, discreet, and humble use of Ministers gifts, even in publique, the better to fit, and excite their own, and the Peoples affections to the present occasions; yet I know no necessity why private and single abilities should quite jumble out, and deprive the Church of the joynt abilities and concurrent gifts of many learned and godly men; such as the Composers of the Service-Book were; who may in all reason be thought to have more of gifts and graces enabling them to compose with serious deliberation & concurrent advise, such Forms of prayers, as may best fit the Churches common wants, informe the Hearers understanding, and stir up that fiduciary and fervent application of their spirits (wherein consists the very life and soul of prayer, and that so much pretended Spirit of prayer) then any private

private man by his solitary abilities can be presumed to have; which, what they are many times (even there, where they make a great noise and shew) the affections, emptiness, impertinency, rudeness, confusions, flatness, levity, obscurity, vain, and ridiculous repetitions, the senseless, and oft-times blasphemous expressions; all these burthened with a most tedious and intolerable length, do sufficiently convince all men, but those who glory in that Pharisaick way.

Wherein men must be strangely impudent, and flatterers of themselves, not to have an infinite shame of what they so do and say, in things of so sacred a nature, before God and the Church, after so ridiculous, and indeed profane a manner.

Nor can it be expected, but that in duties of frequent performance, as Sacramentall administrations, and the like, which are still the same; Ministers must either come to use their own Forms constantly, which are not like to be so sound, or comprehensive of the nature of the duty, as Forms of Publick composure; or else they must every time affect new expressions when the subject is the same; which can hardly be presumed in any mans greatest sufficiencies not to want (many times) much of that compleatnesse, order, and gravity, becoming those duties; which by this means

are exposed at every celebration to every Ministers private infirmities, indispositions, errors, disorders and defects, both for judgment and expression.

A serious sense of which inconvenience in the Church unavoidably following every mans severall manner of officiating, no doubt first occasioned the wisdom and piety of the Ancient Churches, to remedy those mischiefs, by the use of constant Liturgies of Publique composure.

The want of which I believe this Church will sufficiently feel, when the unhappy fruits of many mens un-governed ignorance, and confident defects, shall be discovered in more errors, schisms, disorders, and uncharitable distractions in Religion, which are already but too many, the more the pity.

However, if violence must needs bring in, and abet those innovations (that men may not seem to have nothing to do) which Law, Reason, and Religion forbids, at least to be so obtruded, as wholly to juttle out the publique Liturgie.

Yet nothing can excuse that most unjust and partiall severitie of those men, who either lately had subscribed to, used and maintained the Service-book; or refusing to use it, cried out of the rigour of Laws and Bishops, which suffered them not to use the libertie of their

their Consciences, in not using it.

That these men (I say) should so suddenly change the Liturgie into a Directorie, as if the Spirit needed help for invention, though not for expressions; or as if matter prescribed did not as much stint and obstruct the Spirit, as it were cloathed in, and confined to fit words (So slight and easie is that Legerdemean which will serve to delude the vulgar.)

That further, they should use such severity as not to suffer without penaltie, any to use the Common-Prayer-Book publicly, although their Consciences bind them to it, as a duty of Piety to God, and Obedience to the Laws.

Thus I see, no men are prone to be greater Tyrants, and more rigorous exacters upon others to conform to their illegall novelties, then such, whose pride was formerly least disposed to the obedience of lawfull Constitutions; and whose licentious humours most pretended Conscientious liberties, which freedom, with much regret, they now allow to Me, and My Chaplains, when they may have leave to serve Me, whose abilities, even in their extemporary way comes not short of the others, but their modestie and learning far exceeds the most of them.

But this matter is of so popular a nature, as some men knew it would not bear learned and sober debates, lest being convinced by the evidence

dence of Reason, as well as Laws, they should have been driven either to sin more against their knowledge, by taking away the Liturgy; or to displease some faction of the people by continuing the use of it.

Though I believe they have offended more considerable men, not onely for their numbers and estates, but for their weighty and judicious piety, then those are, whose weakness or giddiness they sought to gratifie by taking it away.

One of the greatest faults some men found with the Common-Prayer-Book, I believe, was this, That it taught them to pray so oft for Me; to which Petitions they had not Loyalty enough to say *Amen*, nor yet Charity enough to forbear Reproaches, and even Cursings of Me in their own formes, instead of praying for Me.

I wish their Repentance may be their only punishment; that seeing the mischiefs which the disuse of publike Liturgies hath already produced, they may restore that credit, use, and reverence of them, which by the ancient Churches were given to set Forms of sound and wholesome words.

And thou, O Lord, which art the same God, blessed for ever : whose mercies are full of variety, and yet of constancy ; Thou deniest us not a

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new and fresh sense of our old and daily wants, nor despisest renewed affections joyne'd to constant expressions.

Let us not want the benefit of thy Churches united and wel-advised Devotions.

Let the matters of our prayers be agreeable to thy will, which is alwayes the same, and the fervency of our spirits to the motions of thy holy Spirit in us.

And then we doubt not, but thy spirituall perfections are such, as thou art neither to be pleased with affected Novelties for matter or manner, nor offended with the pious constancy of our petitions in them both.

Whose variety or constancy thou hast no where either forbidden or commanded, but left them to the piety and prudence of thy Church, that both may be used, neither despised.

Keep men in that pious moderation of their judgement in matters of Religion; that their ignorance may not offend others, nor their opinion of their own abilities tempt them to deprive others of what they may lawfully and devoutly use, to help their infirmities.

And since the advantage of Error consists in novelty and variety, as Truths in unity and constancy: Suffer not thy Church to be pestered with errorrs, and deformed with undecencies in thy service, under the pretence of variety and novelty. Nor to be deprived of truth, unity, and

er, under this fallacy, That constancy is the cause
of formality.

Lord keep us from formall Hypocrisie in our own
hearts, and then we know that praying to thee, or
raising of thee (with David, and other holy men)
in the same forms, cannot hurt us.

Give us wisdom to amend what is amisse with-
out us, and there will be lesse to amend without us.
Evermore defend and deliver thy Church from
the effects of blind zeal, and over-bold devoti-
on.

6. Of the differences between the King and the two Houses, in point of Church-Government.

Touching the GOVERNMENT of the
Church by Bishops, the common Jeal-
ousie hath been, that I am earnest and
resolute to maintain it, not so much out of
piety, as policy, and reason of State.

Wherein so far indeed reason of State doth
induce Me to approve that Government a-
bove any other, as I find it impossible for a
Prince to preserve the State in quiet, unlesse
he hath such an influence upon Church-men;
and they such a dependance on Him, as may

best restrain the seditious exorbitancies Ministers tongues; who with the Keyes of Heaven have so far the Keyes of the People's hearts, as they prevail much by their Orations to let in, or shut out, both Peace and Loyalty.

So that, being (as KING) intrusted by God and the Laws, with the good both of Church and State; I see no Reason I should give or weaken by any change, that power and influence which in right and reason I ought to have over both.

The moving Bishops out of the House of Peers (of which I have elsewhere given an account) was sufficient to take off any suspicion that I encline to them for any use to be made of their Votes in State affairs: Though indeed I never thought any Bishop worthy to sit in that House, who would not Vote according to his Conscience.

I must now in charity be thought desirous to preserve that Government in its right constitution, as a matter of Religion; where both My judgment is fully satisfied, that hath of all other the fullest Scripture ground, and also the constant practice of all Christian Churches; till of late years, the tumultuosity of People, or the factiousness and pride of Presbyters, or the covetousness of some States and Princes, gave occasion to some mens wits to invent new models, and propose

then

them under specious titles of *Christ's Govern-
ment, Scepter and Kingdom*; the better to serve
their turns, to whom the change was benefi-
ciall.

They must give Me leave, having none of
their temptations to invite Me to alter the
Government of Bishops (that I may have a
title to their Estates) not to believe their pre-
tended grounds to any new waies: contrary
to the full and constant testimony of all Hi-
stories, sufficiently convincing unbiaſſed men;
that as the Primitive Churches were undoubt-
edly governed by the Apostles and their im-
mediate Successours, the first and best Bishops;
so it cannot in reason or charity be supposed,
that all Churches in the world should either
be ignorant of the rules by them prescribed, or
so soon deviate from their divine and holy
pattern: That since the first Age, for 1500
years, not one Example can be produced of
any settled Church, wherein were many Mini-
sters and Congregations, which had not some
Bishop above them, under whose jurisdiction
and government they were.

Whose constant and universall practice a-
greeing with so large, and evident Scripture-
directions & examples, as are set down in the
Epistles to *Timothy* and *Titus*, for the settling
of that Government, not in the persons only
of *Timothy* and *Titus*, but in the succession;

(the want of Government being that, which the Church can no more dispence with, in point of welbeing, then the want of the Word and Sacraments, in point of being.)

I wonder how men came to look with envious an eie upon Bishops power and authority, as to oversee both the Ecclesiasticall use of them, and Apostolicall constitution, which to Me seems no lesse evidently set forth as to the main scope and design of those Epistles, for the setting of a peculiar Office, Power and Authority in them, as President Bishops above others, in point of Ordination, Censures, and other acts of Ecclesiasticall Discipline; then those shorter characters of the qualities and duties of Presbyter-Bishops, and Deacons, are described in some parts of the same Epistles; who in the latitude and community of the name were then, and may now not improperly be cal'd *Bishops*; as to the oversight and care of single Congregations, committed to them by the Apostles, or other Apostolicall Bishops, who (as *Timothy* and *Titus*) succeeded them in that ordinary power there assigned over large divisions, in which were many Presbyters.

The humility of those first Bishops avoiding the eminent title of Apostles, as a name in the Churches stile appropriated from its common notion (of a *Messenger*, or *one sent*) to the

special

special dignity which hath extraordinary call,
mission, gifts, and power immediately from
Christ: they contented themselves with the
ordinary titles of Bishops and Presbyters, un-
till use, (the great Arbitrator of words, and
Master of language) finding reason to distin-
guish by a peculiar name those persons, whose
power and office were indeed distinct from,
and above all other in the Church, as succee-
ding the Apostles in the ordinary and constant
power of governing the Churches, (the ho-
nour of whose name they modestly, yet com-
mendably declined) all Christian Churches
(submitting to that special authority) appro-
priated also the name of *Bishop*, without any
suspicion or reproach of arrogancy, to those,
who were by Apostolical propagation rightly
descended and invested into the highest and
largest power of governing even the most
pure and primitive Churches: which, without
all doubt had many such holy Bishops, after
the pattern of *Timothy* and *Titus*; whose spe-
cial power is not more clearly set down in
those Epistles (the chief grounds and limits of
all Episcopal claim, as from divine right) then
are the characters of these perilous times, and
those men that make them such; who not
enduring sound doctrine, and clear testimo-
nies of all Churches practice, are most per-
verse Disputers, and proud Usurpers, against

true Episcopacy : who, if they be not Tray-
tours and Boasters, yet they seem to be very
covetous, heady, high-minded ; inordinate
and fierce, lovers of themselves, having much
of the forme, little of the power of godlinesse.

Who, by popular heaps of weak, light, and
unlearned Teachers, seek to overlay and smo-
ther the pregnancy & authority of that power
of Episcopall Government, which, beyond
all equivocation and vulgar fallacy of names,
is most convincingly set forth, both by Scri-
pture, and all after Histories of the Church.

This I write rather like a Divine, than a
Prince, that Posterity may see (if ever these
Papers be publique) that I had fair grounds
both from Scripture-Canons, & Ecclesiastical
examples, whereon My judgement was stated
for Episcopall Government.

Nor was it any policy of State, or obstinacy
of will, or partiality of affection, either to the
men, or their Function which fixed Me : who
cannot in point of worldly respects be so con-
siderable to Me as to recompence the injuries
and losses I, and My dearest relations with My
Kingdomes, have sustained, and hazarded,
chiefly at first upon this quarrell.

And not only in Religion, of which, Scrip-
ture is the best rule, and the Churches Univer-
sall practice the best commentary, but also in
right reason, and the true nature of Govern-
ment,

ment, it cannot be thought that an ordinary Subordination among Presbyters, or Ministers, should be any more against Christianity, then it is in all secular and civill Governments, where parity breeds Confusion and Faction.

I can no more believe, that such order is inconsistent with true Religion, then good features are with beauty, or numbers with harmony.

Nor is it likely that God, who appointed several orders, & a Prelacy, in the government of his Church, among the Jewish Priests, should abhor or forbid them among Christian Ministers; who have as much of the principles of schisme and division as other men; for preventing and supprssieng of which, the Apostolicall wisdom (which was divine) after that Christians were multiplied to many Congregations, and Presbyters with them, appointed this way of Government, which might best preserve order and union with Authority.

So that I conceive it was not the favour of Princes, or ambition of Presbyters, but the wisdom and piety of the Apostles, that first settled Bishops in the Church; which Authority they constantly used, and injoyed in those times, which were purest for Religion, though sharpest for Persecution.

Not that I am against the managing of this
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Presidency and Authority in one man, by the joynt Councell and consent of many Presbyters: I have offered to restore that, as a means to avoid those Errours, Corruptions, and Partialities which are incident to any one man; Also to avoid Tyranny, which becomes no Christians, least of all Church-men; besides, it will be a meanes to take away that burden, and *odium* of affairs, which may lie too heavy on one mans shoulders, as indeed I think it formerly did on the Bishops here.

Nor can I see what can be more agreeable both to Reason and Religion, then such a frame of Government which is paternall, not Magisteriall; and wherein not onely the necessity of avoiding Faction and Confusion, Emulations and Contempts, which are prone to arise among equals in power and function; but also the difference of some Ministers gifts, and aptitudes for Government above others, doth invite to imploy them, in reference to their Abilities, wherein they are eminent.

Nor is this judgement of Mine touching Episcopacy, any pre-occupation of opinion, which will not admit any oppositions against it: It is well knowne I have endeavoured to satisfie My self in what the chief Patrons for other wayes can say against this, or for theirs: And I find they have, as far lesse of Scripture grounds, and of Reason; so for ex-
amples,

amples, and practice of the Church, or testimonies of Histories, they are wholly destitute wherein the whole streams runs so for Episcopacy, that there is not the least rivolet for any others.

As for those obtruded examples of some late reformed Churches (for many retain Bishops still) whom necessity of times and affairs rather excuseth, then condemneth for their inconformity to all Antiquity; I could never see any reason why Churches orderly reformed and governed by Bishops, should be forced to conform to those few, rather then to the Catholique example of all Ancient Churches, which needed no Reformation: And those Churches at this day, who Governed by Bishops in the Christian world, are many more then, Presbyterians or Independents can pretend to be; All whom the Churches in My three Kingdoms lately governed by Bishops, would equalize (I think) if not exceed.

Nor is it any point of wisdom or charity, where Christians differ (as many do in some points) thereto widen the differences, and at once to give all the Christian world (except a handfull of some Protestants) so great a scandall in point of Church-government; whom, though you may convince of their Errours in some points of Doctrine, yet you shall

shall never perswade them, that to compleat their Reformation, they must necessarily desert, and wholly cast off that Government, which they, and all before them, have ever owned as Catholique, Primitive, and Apostolicall: So far, that never Schismatics, nor Hereticks (except those Arians) have strayed from the Unity and Conformity of the Church in that point; ever having Bishops above Presbyters.

Besides, the late generall approbation and submission to this Government of Bishops, by the Clergy, as well as the Laity of these Kingdoms, is a great confirmation of My Judgment; and their inconstancy is a great prejudice against their novelty; I cannot in charity so far doubt of their learning or integrity, as if they understood not what heretofore they did or that they did confirm contrary to their consciences; So that their facility and levity is never to be excused, who, before ever the point of Church-Government had any free and impartiall debate, contrary to their former Oaths and practice, against their obedience to the Laws in force, and against My consent, have not only quite cried down the government by Bishops, but have approved and encouraged the violent and most illegall stripping all the Bishops, and many other Church-men, of all their due Authority and Revenues, even to the

the selling away, and utter alienation of those Church-lands from any Ecclesiasticall uses: So great a power hath the stream of times, and the prevalency of parties over some mens judgments; of whose so sudden and so totall change, little reason can be given, besides the *Scots* Army comming into *England*.

But the folly of these men will at last punish it self, and the Deserters of *Episcopacy* will appear the greatest Enemies to, and betrayers of their own interest: For Prebyterie is never so considerable or effectually, as when it is joyned to, and crowned with *Episcopacy*. All Ministers wil find as great a difference in point of thriving, between the favour of the People, and of Princes, as plants do between being watered by hand, or by the sweet and liberall dews of Heaven.

The tenuity and contempt of Clergy-men will soon let them see, what a poor carcassee they are, when parted from the influence of that Head, to whose Supremacy they have been sworn.

A little moderation might have prevented great mischiefs; I am firm to Primitive *Episcopacy*, not to have it expiated (if I can hinder it) Discretion without passion might easily reform, whatever the rust of times, or indulgence of Laws, or corruption of manners have brought upon it. It being a grosse vulgar

vulgar error to impute to, or revenge upon the Function, the faults of times, or persons; which seditious and popular principle and practice, all wise men abhor.

For those secular additaments and ornaments of Authority, Civil Honour and Estate, which My Predecessours, and Christian Princes in all Countries have annexed to Bishops and Church-men; I look upon them, but as just rewards of their learning, and piety, who are fit to be in any degree of Church-Government; also enablements to works of Charity and Hospitality, meet strengthenings of their Authority in point of respect, and observance; which in peacefull times is hardly payed to any Governours by the measure of their virtues, so much, as by that of their Estates; Poverty and meannesse exposing them and their Authority to the contempt of licentious minds and manners, which persecuting Times much restrained.

I would have such men Bishops, as are most worthy of those encouragements, and best able to use them: if at any time My judgment of men failed, My good intention made My error veniall: And some Bishops I am sure I had, whose learning, gravity and piety, no men of any worth or forehead can deny: But of all men, I would have Church-men, especially the Governours, to be redeemed from that

that vulgar neglect; which (besides an innate principle of vitious opposition, which is in all men against those that seem to reprove, or restrain them) will necessarily follow both the Presbyterian party, which makes all Ministers equal; and the Independent inferiority, which sets their Pastors below the People.

This for My judgement touching Episcopacy, wherein (God knows) I do not gratifie any designe or passion with the least perverting of Truth.

And now I appeale to God above, and all the Christian world, whether it be just for Subjects, or pious for Christians, by violence, and infinite indignities, with servile restraints to seek to force Me their KING and Sovereigne, as some men have endeavoured to do, against all these grounds of My judgement, to consent to their weak and divided novelties.

The greatest Pretender of them desires not more then I doe, That the Church should be governed, as Christ hath appointed, in true Reason, and in Scripture; of which, I could never see any probable shew for any other waies: who either content themselves with the examples of some Churches in their infancy and solitude, when one Presbyter might serve one Congregation in the City or Countrey; or else they deny these most evident Truths, That the Apostles were Bishops over those

those Presbyters they ordained, as well as over the Churches they planted; and that Government being necessary for the Churches well being, when multiplied & sociated, must also necessarily descend from the Apostles to others, after the example of that power and superiority, they had above others; which could not end with their persons; since the use and ends of such Government still continues.

It is most sure, that the purest Primitive and best Churches flourished under Episcopacy: and may so still, if ignorance, superstition, avarice, revenge, and other disorderly and disloyall passions had not so blown up some mens minds against it, that what they want of Reason or Primitive Patterns, they supply with violence and oppression; wherein some mens zeale for Bishops Lands, Houses, and Revenues hath set them on work to eat up Episcopacy: which (however other men esteem) to Me is no lesse sin, then Sacriledge, or a robbery of God (the giver of all we have) of that portion which devout minds have thankfully given againe to him, in giving it to his Church and Prophets; through whose hands he graciously accepts even a cup of cold water, as a libation offered to himself.

Furthermore, as to My particular engagement above other men, by an Oath agreeable

to My judgment, I am solemnly obliged to preserve that Government, and the Rights of the Church.

Were I convinced of the unlawfulness of the Function, as Antichristian (which some men boldly, but weakly calumniate) I could soon, with Judgment, break that Oath, which erroneously was taken by Me.

But being daily by the best disquisition of truth, more confirmed in the Reason and Religion of that to which I am sworn; How can any man that wisheth not My damnation, persuade Me at once to so notorious and combined sins of Sacrilege and Perjury? Besides the many personall Injustices I must do to many worthy men, who are as legally invested in their Estates, as any, who seek to deprive them; and they have by no Law been convicted of those crimes, which might forfeit their Estates and Lively-hoods.

I have oft wondred how men pretending to tenderness of Conscience, and Reformation, can at once tell Me, that My Coronation Oath binds Me to consent to whatsoever they shall propound to Me (which they urge with such violence) though contrary to all that Rational and Religious freedom which every man ought to preserve; and of which they seem so tender of their own Votes; yet at the same time these men will needs persuade Me,

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That I must, and ought to despenſe with, and roundly break that part of My Oath, which binds Me (agreeable to the beſt light of reaſon and Religion I have) to maintain the Government, and legall Rights of the Church. 'Tis ſtrange My Oath ſhould be valid in that part, which both My Self, and all men in their own caſe, eſteem injurious and unreaſonable, as being againſt the very naturall and eſſentiall liberty of our ſouls; yet it ſhould be invalid, and to be broken in another claufe, wherein I think My Self juſtly obliged, both to God and Man.

Yet upon this Rack chiefly have I been held ſo long, by ſome mens ambitious Covetouſneſſe, and ſacrilegious Cruelty; torturing (with Me) both Church and State, in Civil diſſentions; till I ſhall be forced to conſent and declare that I do approve, what (God knows) I utterly diſlike, and in My Soul abhor; as many waies highly againſt Reaſon, Juſtice and Religion: and whereto, if I ſhould ſhamefully and diſhonourably give My conſent; yet ſhould I not by ſo doing, ſatiſfie the divided Interests and Opinions of thoſe Parties, which contend with each other, as well as both againſt Me and Epiſcopacy.

Nor can My late condeſcending to the *Scots* in point of Churchgovernment, be rightly ob-
jected

jected against Me, as an inducement for Me, to consent to the like in My other kingdoms; For it should be considered that Episcopacy was not so rooted and settled there, as 'tis here; nor (in that respect) so strictly bound to continue it in that Kingdom as in this; for what I think in My judgment best, I may not think so absolutely necessary for all places, & at all times.

If any shall impute My yeilding to them, as My failing and sin, I can easily acknowledge it; but that is an argument to do so againe, or much worse; I being now more convinced in that point: nor indeed hath My yeilding to them been so happy and successfull as to incourage Me to grant the like to others.

Did see any thing more of Christ, as to Meeknesse, Justice, Order, Charity, and Loyalty in those that pretend to other modes of Government, I might suspect My judgement to be biased, or fore-stalled with some prejudice and wontednesse of opinion; but I have hitherto so much cause to suspect the contrary in the manners of many of those men, that cannot from them gaine the least reputation for their new wayes of Government.

Nor can I find that in any Reformed Churches (whose patterns are so cryed up, and obtruded upon the Churches under My Dominion) that either Learning, or Religion, works of Piety or Charity, have so flourished

beyond what they have done in My Kingdoms (by Gods blessing) which might make Me believe either Presbytery or Independency have a more benigne influence upon the Church and mens hearts and lives, then Episcopacy in its right constitution.

The abuses of which, deserve to be extirpated, as much as the use retained; for I think it far better to hold to Primitive and uniforme Antiquity, then to comply with divided novelty.

A right Episcopacy would at once satisfy all just desires and interest of good Bishops, humble Presbyters, and sober People; so as Church affaires should be managed neither with tyrannie, purity, nor popularity; neither Bishops ejected, nor Presbyters despised, nor People oppressed.

And in this integrity both of My Judgment and Conscience, I hope God will preserve Me.

For Thou, O Lord, knowest My uprightness, and tenderneesse, as thou hast set Me to be a Defender of the Faith, and a Protector of thy Church, so suffer Me not by any violence, to be overborn against my Conscience.

A rise O Lord, maintaine thine owne Cause, let not thy Church be deformed, as to that Government, which derived from thy Apostles, hath been

been retained in purest and primitive times, till the Revenues of the Church became the object of secular envy; which seeks to rob it of all the encouragements of Learning and Religion.

Make Me, as the good Samaritan, compassionate, and helpfull to thy afflicted Church; which some men have wounded and robbed; others passe by without regard, either to pity or relieve.

As My power is from thee, so give Me grace to use it for thee.

And though I am not suffered to be Master of My other Rights as a KING, yet preserve Me in that liberty of Reason, love of Religion, and thy Churches welfare, which are fixed in My Conscience as a Christian.

Preserve, from sacrilegious invasions, those temporall blessings, which thy providence hath bestowed on thy Church for thy glory.

Forgive their sins and errors, who have deserved thy just permission, thus to let in the wilde Boare, and subtil Foxes, to waste and deforme thy Vineyard, which thy right hand hath planted, and the dew of Heaven so long watered to a happy and flourishing estate.

O let Me not bear the infamous brand to all Posterity of being the first Christian KING in this Kingdome, who should consent to the oppression of thy Church, and the fathers of it; whose errors I would rather, with Constantine, cover with silence, and reforme with meeknesse,

then expose their persons, and sacred Functions, to vulgar contempt.

Thou O Lord, seeſt how much I have ſuffered with, and for thy Church; make no long tarrying O My God, to deliver both Me, and it, from unreasonable men; whoſe counſels have brought forth, and continue ſuch violent confuſions, by a precipitant deſtroying the ancient boundaries of thy Churches peace; thereby letting in all manner of errors, ſchiſmes, and diſorders.

O thou God, of order, and of truth, in thy good time, abate the malice, aſwage the rage, and confound all the miſchievous devices of thine, mine, and thy Churches enemies.

That I, and all that love thy Church, may ſing praises to thee, and ever magnifie thy ſalvation, even before the ſons of men.

18. Upon Uxbridge-Treaty, and other Offers made by the King.

I Look upon the way of Treaties, as a reſtraining from fighting like Beaſts, to arguing like Men; whoſe ſtrength ſhould be more in their underſtandings, then, in their limbs.

And though I could ſeldome get opportunities to Treat, yet I never wanted either deſire or diſpoſition to it; having greater confidence of My Reason, then My Sword: I

was so wholly resolved to yield to the first, that I thought neither My Self, nor others, should need to use the second, if we once rightly understood each other.

Nor did I ever think it a diminution of Me to prevent them with Expresses of My desires, and even importunities to Treat: It being an office, not only of humanity, rather to use Reason than Force; but also of Christianity, to *seek peace and ensue it.*

As I was very unwillingly compelled to defend My Self with Arms, so I very willingly embraced any thing tending to peace.

The events of all War by the Sword being very dubious, and of a Civil War uncomfortable; the end hardly recompencing, and late repairing the mischief of the means.

Nor did any successe I had ever in chance with Me the price of Peace, as earnestly desired by Me as any man; though I was like to pay dearer for it then any man: All that I sought to reserve was, Mine Honour, and My Conscience; the one I could not part with as a KING, the other as a Christian.

The Treaty at *Uxbridge* gave the fairest hopes of an happy composure; had others applied themselves to it with the same moderation as I did, I am confident the War had then ended.

I was willing to condescend, as far as Reason, Honour and Conscience would give Me

leave; nor were the remaining differences so essentiall to My Peoples happinesse; or of such consequence, as in the least kind to have hindered My Subjects either security or prosperity; for they better enjoyed both many years before ever those demands were made; some of which, to deny, I think the greatest Justice to My Self, and favour to My Subjects.

I see, Jealousies are not so easily allayed, as they are raised: Some men are more afraid to retreat from violent Engagements, then to Engage: what is wanting in equity, must be made up in pertinacy. Such as had little to enjoy in peace, or to lose in war, studied to render the very name of *Peace* odious and suspected.

In Church affairs, where I had least liberty of prudence, having so many strict ties of Conscience upon Me; yet I was willing to condescend so far to the settling of them, as might have given fair satisfaction to all men, whom faction, covetousnesse or superstition had not engaged more, then any true zeal, charity, or love of Reformation.

I was content to yeild to all that might seem to advance true piety; I only sought to continue what was necessary in point of Order, Maintenance and Authority to the Churches Government; and what I am perswaded (as I have elsewhere set down My thoughts more fully)

fully) is most agreeable to the true Principles of all Government, raised to its full stature and perfection; as also to the Primitive Apostolicall pattern, and the practice of the Universal Church conform thereto.

From which wholly to recede, without any probable reason urged or answered, only to satisfy some mens wils and fantasies (which yet agree not among themselves in any point, but that of extirpating Episcopacy, and fighting against Me) must needs argue such a softness, and infirmitie of mind in Me, as will rather part with Gods Truth, then Mans Peace; and rather lose the Churches honour, then crosse some mens Factious humours.

God knows, and time will discover, who were most too blame for the unsuccessfulness of that Treaty, and who must bear the guilt of after calamities. I believe I am very excusable both before God, and all unpassionate men, who have seriously weighed those transactions, wherein I endeavoured no lesse the restoration of peace to My people, then the preservation of My own Crowns to My Posterity.

Some men have that height, as to interpret all fair Condescendings; as Arguments of feebleness; and glory most in an unflexible stiffness, when they see others most supple and inclinable to them.

A grand Maxim with them was alwaies
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to ask something, which in reason and honour must be denied, that they might have some colour to refuse all that was in other things granted; setting Peace at as high a rate, as the worst effects of War; endeavouring first to make Me destroy My Self by dishonourable concessions, that so they might have the lesse to do.

This was all which that Treaty, or any other produced, to let the world see, how little I would deny, or they grant, in order to the Publique peace.

That it gave occasion to some mens further restivenesse, is imputable to their own depraved tempers, not to any Concessions or Negotiations of Mine: I have alwaies the content of what I offered, and they the regret and blame for what they refused.

The highest tide of success set Me not above a Treaty, nor the lowest ebbe above a Fight: Though I never thought it any sign of true valour, to be prodigall of mens lives, rather then to be drawn to produce our own reasons, or subscribe to other mens.

That which made Me for the most part preface the unsuccessfullnesse of any Treaty, was, some mens unwillingnesse to Treat: which implied some things were to be gained by the Sword, whose unreasonablenesse they were loath to have fairly scanned, being more proper

per to be acted by Souldiers, then by Counsellours.

I pray God forgive them that were guilty of that Treaties breaking; and give them grace to make their advantages gotten by the Sword a better opportunity to use such moderation, as was then wanting; that so though Peace were for our sins justly deferred, yet at last it may be happily obtained; what we could not get by our Treaties, we may gaine by our Prayers.

O Thou, that art the God of Reason, and of Peace, who disdainest not to Treat with Sinners, preventing them with offers of attonement, and beseeching them to be reconciled with thy selfe: who wantest not power, or justice, to destroy them; yet aboudest in mercy to save: soften our hearts by the blood of our Redeemer, and perswade us to accept of Peace with thy selfe, and both to procure and preserve peace among our selves, as Men and Christians, How oft have I intreated for Peace, but when I speak thereof, they make them ready to War.

Condemne us not to our passions, which are destructive, both to our selves, and of others.

Clear up our understandings, to see thy Truth, both in Reason, as Men; and in Religion, as Christians: and encline all our hearts to hold the unity of the Spirit, in the bond of Peace.

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Take from us that enmity which is now in our hearts against thee: & give us that charity which should be among our selves.

Remove the evils of Warre we have deserved and bestow upon us that Peace, which only Christ our great Peace-maker can merit.

19. *Upon the various events of the War; victories, and Defeats.*

THe various Successes of this unhappy war, have at least, afforded Me variety of good Meditations: sometimes God was pleased to try Me with victory, by worsting My Enemies, that I might know how with moderation and thanks to own, and use his power, who is only the true *Lord of Hosts*; able when he pleases to repress to confidence of those, that fought against Me, with so great advantages for power and number.

From small beginnings on My part he let Me see, that I was not wholly forsaken by My peoples love, or his protection.

Other times God was pleased to exercise My patience, and teach Me not to trust in the arme of Flesh, but in the living God.

My sins sometimes prevailed against the justice of My Cause: & those that were with Me

wanted

wanted not matter and occasion for his just chastisement both of them, and Me: Nor were My enemies lesse punished by that prosperity, which hardened them to continue that injustice by open hostility, which was begun by most riotous and unparliamentary Tumults.

There is no doubt but personall and private sins may oft-times over-balance the Justice of Publique engagements; nor doth God account every gallant Man (in the worlds esteeme) a fit instrument to assert in the way of War a righteous Cause; The more men are prone to arrogate to their own skill, valour and strength, the lesse doth God ordinarily work by them for his own glory.

I am sure the event or successe can never state the Justice of any Cause, nor the peace of mens Consciences, nor the eternall fate of their Soules.

Those with Me had (I think) clearly and undoubtedly, for their Justification the Word of God, and the Laws of the Land, together with their own Oathes; all requiring obedience to My just Commands; but to none other under Heaven without Me, or against Me, in the point of raising Armes.

Those on the other side are forced to flie to the shifts of some pretended Fears, and wild fundamentals of State (as they call them) which

which actually overthrow the present fabric both of Church and State; being such imaginary Reasons for self-defence as are most impertinent for those men to alledge, who being My Subjects, were manifestly the first assaulters of Me and the Laws: first by unsuppressed Tumults, after by lifted Forces: The same Allegations they use, will fit any Faction that hath but power and confidence enough to second with the sword, all their demands against the present Lawes and Governours; which can never be such as some side or other will not find fault with, so as to urge what they call a Reformation of them to a Rebellion against them, some parasitick Preachers have dared to call those Martyrs, who dyed fighting against Me, the Lawes, their Oathes, and the Religion established.

But sober Christians know, That glorious Title, can with Truth be applied only to those, who sincerely preferred Gods Truth, and their duty in all these particulars before their lives, and all that was dear to them in this world; who having no advantageous designs by any Innovation, were religiously sensible of those ties to God, the Church, and My self, which lay upon their Souls, both for obedience and just assistance.

God could, and I doubt not but he did through his mercy, crown many of them with

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small life, whose lives were lost in so just cause; The destruction of their bodies being sanctified, as a means to save their souls.

Their wounds and temporall ruine serving as a gracious opportunity for their eternall health and happinesse; while the evident approach of death did through Gods grace, effectually dispose their hearts to such Humilitie, Faith and Repentance, which together with the Rectitude of their present engagement, would fully prepare them for a better life than that which their enemies brutish and disloyall fiercenesse could deprive them of; or without Repentance hope to enjoy.

They have often indeed had the better against My side in the field, but never, I believe, at the Bar of Gods Tribunall, or their own consciences; where they are more afraid to encounter those many pregnant Reasons, both from Law, Allegiance, and all true Christian grounds, which conflict with, and accuse them in their own thoughts, then they oft were in a desperate bravery to fight against those Forces which sometimes God gave them.

Whose condition conquered, and dying, I make no question, but is infinitely more to be chosen by a sober man (that duly values his duty, his soul and eternity, beyond the enjoyments of this present life) then the most
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triumphant glory, wherein their and Mine Enemies supervive; who can hardly avoid to be daily tormented by that horrid guilt wherewith their suspicious, or now convicted consciences do pursue them, especially since they and all the world have seen, how false & un-intended those pretensions were, which they first set forth, as the only plausible (though not justifiable) grounds of raising War, and continuing it thus long against Me and the Laws established; in whose safety and preservation all honest men think the welfare of their Country doth consist.

For, and with all which, it is far more honourable and comfortable to suffer, then to prosper in their ruine and subversion.

I have often prayed, that all on My side might joyn true piety with the sense of their Loyaltie; and be as faithfull to God and their own souls, as they were to Me: That the defects of the one might not blast the endeavours of the other.

Yet I cannot think, that any shews, or tokens of piety on the other side were sufficient to dispence with, or expiate the defects of their Duty and Loyalty to Me, which have so pregnant convictions on mens consciences, that even profaner men are moved by the sense of them to venture their lives for Me.

I never had any victory which was without

My sorrow, because it was on Mine own Subjects, who like *Absalom*, died many of them in their sin: And yet I never suffered any Defeat, which made Me despaire of Gods mercy and defence.

I never desired such Victories, as might serve to conquer, but onely restore the Laws and Liberties of My people; which I saw were extremely oppressed, together with My Rights by those men, who were impatient of any just restraint.

When providence gave Me, or denied Me Victory, My desire was neither to boast of My power, nor to charge God foolishly; who I believe at last would make all things to work together for My good.

I wished no greater advantages by the War, then to bring My Enemies to moderation, and My Friends to peace.

I was afraid of the temptation of an absolute conquest, and never prayed more for victory over others, then over My self. When the first was denied, the second was granted Me, which God saw best for Me.

The different events were but the methods of divine justice, by contrary winds to winow us: That, by punishing our sins, he might purge them from us; and by deferring peace, he might prepare us more to prize, and better to use so great a blessing.

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My often Messages for Peace shewed that I delighted not in War; as My former Concessions sufficiently testified, how willingly I would have prevented it; and My totall unpreparednesse for it, how little I intended it.

The conscience of My Innocency forbade Me to fear a War, but the love of My Kingdomes commanded Me (if possible) to avoid it.

I am guilty in this Warre of nothing but this, That I have such advantages to some men, by confirming their power, which they knew not to use with that modesty and gratitude which became their Loyalty and my confidence.

Had I yeilded lesse, I had been opposed lesse; had I denied more, I had been more obeyed.

'Tis now too late to review the occasions of the Warre; I wish onely a happy conclusion, of so unhappy beginnings: The unevitable fate of our sinnes was (no doubt) such, as would no longer suffer the divine justice to be quiet: we have conquered his patience, are condemned by mutuall conquerings, to destroy one another: for, the most prosperous successes on either side, impaire the welfare of the whole.

Those Victories are still miserable, that leave our sinnes unsubdued; flushing our pride,

pride, and animating to continue Injuries.

Peace it self is not desireable, till repentance have prepared us for it.

When we fight more against our selves, and lesse against God, we shall cease fighting against one another; I pray God these may all meet in our hearts, and so dispose us to an happy conclusion of these Civil Wars; that I may know better to obey God, and govern My People, and they may learn better to obey both God and Me.

Nor do I desire any man should be further subject to Me, then all of us may be subject to God.

O my God, make me content to be overcome, when thou wilt have it so.

Teach me the noblest victory over myself, and my Enemies by patience; which was Christ's Conquest, and may well become a Christian King.

Between both thy hands, the right sometimes supporting, and the left afflicting, fashion us to that frame of piety thou likest best.

Forgive the pride that attends our prosperous, and the repinings which follow our disastrous events; when going forth in our own strength, thou withdrawest thine, and goest not forth with our Armies.

Be thou all, when we are something; and when

we are nothing; that thou mayst have the glory, when we are in a victorious, or inglorious condition.

Thou, O Lord, knowest how hard it is for me to suffer so much evil from my Subjects, to whom I intend nothing but good; and I cannot but suffer in those evils which they compell me to inflict upon them; punishing my self in their punishments.

Since therefore both in conquering, and being conquered, I am still a Sufferer: I beseech thee to give me a double portion of thy Spirit; and that measure of grace, which only can be sufficient for me.

As I am most afflicted, so make me most reformed, that I may be not only happy to see an end of these civil distractions, but a chief Instrument to restore and establish a firm and blessed Peace to my Kingdoms.

Stir up in all Parties pious ambitions to overcome each other with reason, moderation, and such self-deniall, as becomes those, who consider, that our mutuall divisions are our common distractions, and the Union of all is every good mans chiefest interest.

If, O Lord, as for the sins of our peace, thou hast brought upon us the miseries of war; so for the sins of war thou shouldst see fit still to deny us the blessing of peace, and so to keep us in a circulation of miseries; yet give me thy Servant,

ment, and all Loyal, though afflicted Subjects, to enjoy that peace which the world can neither give to us, nor take from us.

Impute not to Me the blood of My Subjects, which with infinite unwillingnesse and grief hath been shed by Me in My just and necessary defence; but wash Me with that precious blood which hath been shed for Me by My great Peace-maker Jesus Christ; who will, I trust, redeem Me shortly out of all My troubles: For, I know the triumphing of the wicked is but short, and the joy of Hypocrites is but for a moment.

20. Upon the Reformations of the Times.

NO Glory is more to be envied then that of due Reforming either Church or State, when deformities are such, that the perturbation and novelty are not like to exceed the benefit of Reforming.

Although God should not Honour Me so far, as to make Me an Instrument of so good a work, yet I should be glad to see it done.

As I was well pleased with this Parliaments first intentions to reform what the Indulgence of times, and corruption of manners might have depraved; so I am sorry to see after the

freedom of Parliament was by factious Tumults oppressed, how little regard was had to the good Laws established, and the Religion settled; which ought to be the first rule and standard of reforming: with how much partiality and popular compliance the passions and opinions of men have been gratified by the detriment of the Publique, and the infinite scandall of the Reformed Religion.

What dissolutions of all Order and Government in the Church; what novelties of Schisms and corrupt Opinions; what undecencies and confusions in sacred Administrations; what sacrilegious invasions upon the Rights and Revenues of the Church; what contempt and oppressions of the Clergie; what injurious diminutions and persecutions of Me have followed (as shows do warm gleams) the talk of Reformation, all sober men are Witnesses, and (with My Self) sad Spectators hitherto.

The great miscarriage I think is, that popular clamours and fury have been allowed the reputation of Zeal and the Publique sense, so that the study to please some Parties hath indeed injured all.

Freedom, moderation and impartiality are sure the best tempers of reforming Councils and endeavours: what is acted by Factions cannot but offend more then it pleaseth.

I have offered to put all differences in Church affairs and Religion to the free consultation of a Synod or Convocation rightly chosen; the results of whose Councils as they would have included the Votes of all, so its like they would have given most satisfaction to all.

The Assembly of Divines, whom the two Houses have applyed (in an unwonted way) to advise of Church Affaires, I dislike not further, then that they are not legally convened and chosen; nor Act in the name of all the Clergy of *England*, nor with freedome and impartiality can do any thing, being limited and confined, if not over-awed, to do and declare what they do.

For I cannot think so many men cryed up for learning and piety, who formerly allowed the Liturgie and Government of the Church of *England*, as to the maine, would have so suddenly agreed quite to abolish both of them, (the last of which, they knew to be of Apostolicall institution, at least; as of Primitive and Universall practice) if they had been left to the liberty of their own suffrages, and if the influence of contrary Factions had not by secret encroachments of hopes, and fears, prevailed upon them, to comply with so great and dangerous Innovations in the Church; without any regard to their own former judg-

ment and practice, or to the common interest and honour of all the Clergy, and in them of Order, Learning & Religion against example of all Ancient Churches; the Lawes in force and my consent; which is never to be gained against so pregnant light as in that point shines on my understanding.

For I conceive, where the Scripture is not so clear and punctuall in precepts, then the Constant and Universall practice of the Church, in things not contrary to Reason, Faith, good Manners, or any positive Command, is the best Rule that Christians can follow.

I was willing to grant or restore to Presbytery what with Reason or Discretion it can pretend to, in a conjuncture with Episcopacy; but for that wholly to invade the Power, and by the Sword to arrogate and quite abrogate the Authority of that Ancient Order, I think neither just as to Episcopacy, nor safe for Presbytery, nor yet any way convenient for this Church or State.

A due reformation had easily followed moderate Councils, and such (I believe) as would have given more content even to the most of those Divines who have been led on with much Gravity and Formality, to carry on other mens designs; which no doubt many of them by this time discover, though they dare

not but smother their frustrations and discontents.

The specious and popular titles, of Christ's Government, Throne, Scepter, and Kingdome, (which certainly is not divided, nor hath two faces, as their Painters now have, at least) also the noise of a through Reformation, these may as easily be fixed on new models, as fair colours may be put to ill-favoured figures.

The breaking of Church-windows, which Time had sufficiently defaced; pulling down of Crosses, which were but civill, not Religious marks; defacing the Monuments and Inscriptions of the Dead, which served but to put posterity in mind to thank God for that clearer light wherein they live: The leaving of all Ministers to their liberties and private abilities in the publique service of God, where no Christian can tell to what he may say *Amem*; nor what adventure he may make of seeming (at least) to consent to the Errours, Blasphemies, and ridiculous Undecencies, which bold and ignorant men list to vent in their Prayers, Preaching, and other Offices. The setting forth also of old Catechismes and Confessions of Faith new drest, importing as much as if there had been no sound or cleare Doctrine of Faith in this Church before some four or five years consultation had matured their

their thoughts, touching their first Principles of Religion.

All these, and the like, are the effects of popular, specious, and deceitfull Reformation; (that they might not seem to have nothing to doe) and may give some short flashes of content to the Vulgar, (who are taken with novelties, as Children with Babies, very much, but not very long) But all this amounts not to, nor can in Justice merit the glory of the Churches thorow Reformation; since they leave all things more deformed, disorderly, and discontented, then when they began, in point of Piety, Morality, Charity, and good Order.

Nor can they easily recompense or remedy the inconveniences and mischiefs, which they have purchased so dearly, and which have, and ever will necessarily ensue, till due remedies be applied.

I wish they would at last, make it their Unanimous work to do Gods work, and not their owne: Had Religion been first considered (as it merited) much trouble might have been prevented.

But some men thought that the Government of this Church and State, fixed by so many Lawes and long Customes, would not run into their new moulds: till they had first melted it in the fire of a Civil War; by the advantages

vantages of which they resolved, if they pre-
 vailed, to make My Self and all My Subjects
 fall down and worship the Images they should
 form and set up: If there had been as much
 of Christ's Spirit, for meeknesse, wisdom,
 and charity in mens hearts, as there was of
 his Name used in the pretensions, to reform
 all to Christs Rule, it would certainly have
 obtained more of God's blessing, and produ-
 ced more of Christ's Glory, the Churches
 good, the Honour of Religion, and the Unity
 of Christians.

Publique Reformers had need first Act in
 private, and practice that on their own hearts
 which they purpose to try on others; for De-
 formities within will soon betray the Preten-
 ders of publick Reformations to such private
 designs, as must needs hinder the Publique
 good.

I am sure the right Methods of Reforming
 the Church cannot consist with that of pertur-
 bing the Civil State; nor can Religion be just-
 ly advanced by depressing Loyaltie, which is
 one of the chiefeft Ingredients and Ornaments
 of true Religion; for next to *fear God*, is, *Ho-
 nour the King*.

I doubt not but Christ's Kingdom may be
 set up without pulling down Mine; nor wil any
 men in impartial times appear good Christians
 that approve not themselves good Subjects.

Christ's

Christ's Government will confirm Mine not overthrow it; since as I own Mine from him, so I desire to rule for his Glory, and Churches good.

Had some men truly intended Christ's Government, or knew what it meant in their hearts, they could never have been so ill governed in their words and actions both against Me, and one another.

As good ends cannot justify evil means, nor will evil beginnings ever bring forth good conclusions; unlesse GOD, by a miracle of Mercy create Light out of Darknesse, Order out of our Confusions, and Peace out of our Passions.

Thou, O Lord, who only canst give us beauty for ashes, and truth for Hypocrisie; suffer us not to be miserably deluded with Pharisaicall washings, instead of Christian reformings.

Our greatest deformities are within; make us the severest Censurers, and first Reformers of our own souls.

That we may in clearnesse of judgment, and uprightness of heart be means to reform what is indeed amisse in Church and State.

Create in us clean hearts, O Lord, and renew right spirits within us; that we may do all by thy directions, to thy glory, and with thy blessing.

Pity the deformities, which some rash and cruell reformers have brought upon this Church and State: Quench the fires which Factions have kindled, under the pretence of reforming.

As thou hast shewed the world by their divisions and confusions what is the pravity of some mens intentions, and weaknesse of their judgments, bring us at last more refined out of these fires, by the methods of Christian and charitable Re-formations; wherein nothing of ambition, revenge, covetousnesse, or sacriledge, may have any influence upon their counsels, whom thy providence in just and lawfull waies shall entrust with so great, good, and now most necessary work: that I and my People may be so blest with inward piety, as may best teach us how to use the blessing of outward peace.

21. Vpon His Majesties Letters taken and divulged.

THe taking of My Letters was an opportunity, which, as the malice of Mine Enemies could hardly have expected, so they knew not how with Honour and Civility to use it: Nor do I think with sober and worthy minds any thing in them could tend so much to My reproach, as the
odious

odious divulging of them did to the infamy of the Divulgers: The greatest experiments of Virtue and Nobleness being discovered in the greatest advantages against an enemy; and the greatest obligations being those which are put upon us by them, from whom we could least have expected them.

And such I should have esteemed the concealing of My Papers; The freedom and largeness of which, commands a civility from all men, not wholly barbarous: Nor is there any thing more inhumane then to expose them to public view.

Yet since providence will have it so, I am content so much of My Heart (which I study to approve to Gods omniscience) should be discovered to the world, without any of those dresses or popular captations which some men use in their Speeches and Expresses, I wish My Subjects had yet a clearer sight into My most retired thoughts.

Where they might discover how they are divided between the love and care I have, not more to preserve My own Rights, then to procure their peace and happiness, and that extream grief to see them both deceived and destroyed.

Nor can any mens malice be gratified further by My Letters, then to see My constancy to My Wife, the Laws, and Religion.

Bees wil gather Honey where the Spider sucks
Poison.

That I endeavour to avoid the pressures of
My Enemies by all faire and just correspon-
dencies, no man can blame who loves Me or
the Common-wealth, since My Subjects can
hardly be happy if I be miserable, or enjoy
their Peace and Liberties while I am opres-
sed.

The world may see how soon mens design,
like *Absoloms*, is by enormous actions to widen
differences, and exasperate all sides to such
distances, as may make all reconciliation de-
perate.

Yet I thank God I can not onely with pati-
ence bear this, as other indignities, but with
Charity forgive them.

The integrity of My intentions is not jealous
of any injury, My expressions can doe them,
for although the confidence of privacy may
admit greater freedome in writing such Let-
ters, which may be liable to envious excepti-
ons; yet the Innocency of my chief purposes
cannot be so obtained, or mis-interpreted by
them, as not to let all men see, that I wish
nothing more then an happy composure of dif-
ferences with Justice and Honour, not more to
My own, then My Peoples content, who have
any sparks of Love or Loyalty left in them:
who, by those My Letters may be convinced,
that

that I can both mind and act My own, in My Kingdomes Affaires, so as becomes Prince; which Mine Enemies have always been very loath should be believed of Me, if I were wholly confined to the Dictates and directions of others; whom they please to brand with the names of Evill Counsellours.

Its probable some men will now look upon me as my own Councellour, and having none else to quarrell with under that notion, they will hereafter confine their anger to my self. Although I know they are very unwilling should enjoy the liberty of my own Thoughts, or follow the light of my own Conscience, which they labour to bring into an absolute captivity to themselves; not allowing Me to think their Counsels to be other then good for me, which have so long maintained a War against me.

The victory they obtained that day, when my Letters became their prize, had been enough to have satiated the most ambitious thirst of popular glory among the Vulgar, with whom prosperity gains the greatest esteem and applause; as adversity exposeth their greatest slighting and dis-respect: As if good fortune were always the shadow of Virtue and Justice, and did not oftner attend vicious and injurious actions, as to this world.

But I see no secular advantages seem sufficient to that cause, which began with Tumults, and depends chiefly upon the reputation with the vulgar.

They think no Victories so effectual to their designs as those, that most rout and waste My Credit with My People; in whose hearts they seek by all means to smother and extinguish all sparks of Love, Respect and Loyaltie to Me; that they may never kindle again, so as to recover Mine, the Laws, and the Kingdoms Liberties, which some men seek to overthrow: The taking away of My Credit is but a necessary preparation to the taking away of My Life, and My Kingdoms. First, I must seem neither fit to Live, nor worthy to Reign: By exquisite methods of cunning and cruelty, I must be compelled, first to follow the Funerals of My Honour, and then be destroyed: But I know Gods unerring and impartiall Justice can, and will overcome the most perverse wils and designs of men: He is able, and (I hope) will turn even the worst of Mine Enemies thoughts and actions to My good.

Nor do I think, that by the surprize of My Letters, I have lost any more then so many Papers: How much they have lost of that reputation for Civility and Humanity (which ought to be paid to all men, and most be-

becomes such as pretend to Religion) beside that of respect and Honour, which they owe to their KING, present and after-times will judge. And I cannot think that their own consciences are so stupid, as not to inflict upon them so secret impressions of that shame and dishonour, which attends all unworthy actions, have they never so much of public flattery, and popular countenance.

I am sure they can never expect the divine approbation of such undecent actions, if they do but remember how God blest the modest respect and filial tenderness which *Noah's* Son bare to their Father: Nor did his open infirmity justify *Cham's* impudency, or exempt him from that curse of being *Servant of Servants*, which curse must needs be on them who seek by dishonourable actions to please the Vulgar, and confirm by ignoble acts their dependance upon the People.

Nor can their malicious intentions be ever either excusable or prosperous, who thought by this means to expose Me to the highest reproach and contempt of My People; forgetting that duty of modest concealment, which they owed to the Father of their Country, in case they had discovered any reall uncomeliness; which, I thank God, they did not; who can, and I believe, hath made Me more respected in the hearts of many (as he did *David*)

to whom they thought, by publishing my private Letters, to have rendred me as a vile Person, not fit to be trusted or considered, under any notion of Majesty.

But thou, O Lord, whose wise and al-disposing providence, ordereth the greatest contingencies of humane affaires; make Me to see the constancy of thy mercies to Me, in the greatest advantages thou seemest to give the malice of My Enemies against Me.

As thou didst blast the counsel of Achitophel, turning it to David's good, and his owne ruine: so canst thou defeat their designe, who intended by publishing My private Letters, nothing else, but to render me more odious and contemptible to My people.

I must first appeale to thy Omniscience, who canst witnesse with My integrity, how unjust, and false those scandalous misconstructions are, which My enemies endeavour by those Papers of mine to represent to the world.

Make the evil they imagined, and displeasure they intended thereby against me, so to returne on their own heads, that they may be ashamed, and covered with their owne confusion, as with a Cloake.

Thou seeest how mine Enemies use all meanes to cloud mine Honour, to pervert my purposes, and to slander the footsteps of thine Anointed.

But give Me an heart content to be dishonoured for thy sake, and thy Churches good.

Fix in Me a purpose to honour thee, and then I know thou wilt honour Me, either by restoring to Me the enjoyment of that Power and Majesty, which thou hast suffered some men to seek to deprive Me of; or by bestowing on Me that crown of Christian patience, which knows how to serve thee in honour, or dishonour, in good report or evil.

Thou, O Lord, art the fountain of goodness and honour; thou art cloathed with excellent Majesty; make me to partake of thy excellency for wisdom, justice, and mercy, and I shall not want that degree of Honour, and Majesty, which becomes the Place in which thou hast set Me; who art the lifter up of My head, and My salvation.

Lord, by thy Grace, lead Me to thy glory, which is both true and eternall.

22. *Vpon His Majesties leaving Oxford, and going to the Scots.*

Although God hath given Me three Kingdoms, yet in these He hath not now left Me any place, where I may with Safety and Honour rest my Head: Shewing me that himself is the safest Refuge, and the strongest Tower of defence, in which I may put my Trust.

In these extremities I look not to man so much as to God; He will have it thus; that I may wholly cast my self, and my now distressed affaires upon his mercy, who hath both hearts and hands of all men in his dispose.

What Providence denies to Force, it may grant to Prudence: Necessity is now My Counsellour, and commands me to study My safety by a disguised withdrawing from My chiefest strength, and adventuring upon their Loyaltie, who first began my Troubles. Happily God may make them a means honourably to compose them.

This my confidence of Them, may dis-arme and overcome them: My rendring My Person to Them may engage their affections to me, who have oft professed, *They sought not against Me, but for Me.*

I must now resolve the riddle of their Loyalty: and give them opportunity to let the world see, they meane not what they do, but what they say.

Yet must God be my chiefeft Guard; and my Conscience both my Councellour and my Comforter: Though I put my body into their hands, yet I shall reserve my Soule to God, and my self; nor shall any necessities compell me to desert mine Honour, or swerve from my Judgement.

What they sought to take by force, shall now be given them in such a way of usuall confidence of them, as may make them ashamed not to be really such, as they ought, and professed to be.

God sees it not enough to deprive me of all Military power to defend My self; but to put Me upon using their power, who seem to fight against Me, yet ought in duty to defend Me.

So various are all humane affaires, and so necessitous may the state of Princes be, that their greatest danger may be in their supposed safety, and their safety in their supposed danger.

I must now leave those that have Adhered to Me, and apply to those that have Opposed me; this method of Peace may be more prosperous then that of Warre, both to stop the effusion of blood, and to close those wounds
already

already made: and in it I am no lesse sollicitous for My Friends safety, then Mine own; chusing to venture My Self upon further hazards, rather then expose their resolute Loyaltie to all extremities.

It is some skil in play to know when a game is lost: better fairly to give over, then to contest in vain.

I must now study to re-inforce My Judgment, and fortifie My mind with Reason and Religion; that I may not seem to offer up my Soules liberty, or make my Conscience their Captive; who ought at first to have used Arguments, not Arms, to have perswaded my consent to their new demands.

I thank God, no success darkens or disguises Truth to me; and I shall no lesse conform my words to my inward dictates now, then if they had been, as the words of a KING ought to be among Loyal Subjects, *full of power.*

Reason is the divinest power. I shall never think my Self weakned while I may make full and free use of that. No eclipse of outward fortune shall rob me of that light; what God hath denied of outward strength, his grace, I hope, will supply with inward resolutions; not morosely to deny what is fit to be granted; but not to grant any thing which Reason and Religion bids me deny.

I shall never think my Self lesse then my self
O 4 while

while I am able thus to preserve the Integrity of My Conscience, the only Jewel now left Me, which is worth keeping.

O thou Sovereign of our Souls, the only Commander of our Consciences; though I know not what to do, yet mine eyes are toward thee; To the protection of thy mercy I still commend myself.

As thou hast preserved me in the day of Battail, so thou canst still shew me thy strength in my weaknesse.

Be thou unto me in my darkest night, a pillar of fire, to enlighten and direct me; in the day of my hottest affliction, be also a pillar of cloud to overshadow and protect me; be to me both a Sun and a Shield.

Thou knowest, that it is not any perversnesse of Will, but just perswasions of Honour, Reason, and Religion; which have made me thus far to hazard my Person, Peace and Safety, against those, that by force have sought to wrest them from me.

Suffer not my just resolutions to abate with my outward Forces; let a good Conscience alwaies accompany me, in my solitude and desertions.

Suffer me not to betray the powers of Reason, and that fortresse of my Soul, which I am intrusted to keep for thee.

Leade

Leade me in the paths of thy righteousness, and
show me thy salvation.

Make my waies to please thee, and then thou
wilt make mine Enemies to be at peace with me.

23. *Vpon the Scots delivering the
King to the English ; and His
Captivitie at Holmby.*

YET may I justifie those *Scots* to all the
world in this, that they have not de-
ceived Me; for I never trusted to them
further, then to men: If I am sold by them,
I am only sorry they should do it; and that
My price should be so much above My Sa-
viours.

These are but further Essayes, which God
will have Me make of mans uncertainty, the
more to fix Me on himself; who never faileth
them that trust in him: Though the Reeds of
Egypt break under the hand of him that leans
on them, yet the Rock of *Israel* will be an e-
verlasting stay and defence.

Gods providence commands Me to retire
from all to himself; that in him I may enjoy
My Self, which I lose while I let out My hopes
to others.

The

The solitude and captivity to which I am now reduced, gives Me leifure enough to study the worlds vanity and inconstancy.

God sees 'tis fit to deprive Me of Wife, Children, Army, Friends and Freedom, that I may be wholly his, who alone is all.

I care not much to be reckoned among the Unfortunate, if I be not in the black List of irreverent religious and sacrilegious Princes.

No Restraint shall ensnare My Soul in sin, nor gain that of Me, which may make My Enemies more insolent, My Friends ashamed, or My Name accursed.

They have no great cause to triumph, that they have got My Person into their power, since My Soul is still My own: Nor shall they ever gain My Consent against My Conscience.

What they call obstinacy, I know God accounts honest constancy, from which Reason and Religion, as well as Honour, forbid Me to recede.

'Tis evident now, that it was not Evil Counsellours with Me, but a good Conscience in Me, which hath been fought against: Nor did they ever intend to bring Me to My Parliament, till they had brought My mind to their obedience.

Should I grant what some men desire, should be such as they wish Me; not more a

King,

King, and farre lesse both Man and Christian.

What Tumults and Armies could not obtaine, neither shall Restraint; which though it have as little of safety to a Prince, yet it hath not more of danger.

The fear of men shall never be My snare; nor shall the love of any liberty entangle My soul: Better others betray Me, then My self: and that the price of my Liberty should be my Conscience; the greatest injuries my Enemies seek to inflict upon me, cannot be without my owne consent.

While I can deny with Reason, I shall defeat the greatest impressions of their malice, who neither know how to use worthily, what I have already granted; nor what to require more of Me but this, That I would seem willing to help them to destroy My self & Mine.

Although they should destroy Me, yet they shall have no cause to despise Me.

Neither liberty nor life are so dear to me, as the peace of My Conscience, the Honour of My Crowns, and the welfare of My People; which my Word may injure more then any Warre can doe; while I gratifie a few to oppress all.

The Lawes will, by Gods blessing, revive, with the love and Loyaltie of my Subjects; if I bury them not by my Consent, and cover them in that grave of dishonour, and injustice
which

which some mens violence hath digged for them.

If My captivity or death must be the price of their redemption, I grudge not to pay it.

No condition can make a King miserable which carries not with it, his soules, his Peoples and Posterities thraldome.

After-times may see, what the blindness of this Age will not; and God may at length shew My Subjects, that I chuse rather to suffer for them, then with them: haply I might redeem my selfe to some shew of liberty, but would consent to enslave them: I had rather hazard the ruine of one KING, then continue firme many Tyrants over them; from whom I pray God deliver them, whatever becoms Me, whose solitude hath not left Me alone.

For thou, O God, infinitely good, and great, art with me, whose presence is better then life; and whose service is perfect freedome.

Own Me for thy Servant, and I shall need have cause to complaine for want of that liberty which becomes a Man, a Christian, and a King.

Blesse me still with Reason, as a Man; with Religion, as a Christian; and with Constancy in Justice, as a King.

Though thou suffereest me to be stript of all outward ornaments, yet preserve Me ever in those enjoyments, wherein I may enjoy thy selfe;

which

which cannot be taken from Me against my will.
 Let no fire of affliction boyle over my passion to
 impatience, or sordid fears.

There be many say of Me, There is no help for Me:
 thou lift up the light of thy Countenance upon
 Me, and I shall never want safety, liberty, nor Ma-
 jesty.

Give me that measure of patience and constan-
 cee, which My condition now requires.

My strength is scattered, my expectation from
 Me defeated, My Person restrained: O be not
 far from Me, lest my Enemies prevaile too
 much against me.

I am become a wonder, and a scorne to many:
 thou my Helper and Defender.

Shew some token upon me for good, that they
 that hate me may be ashamed, because thou Lord
 hast holpen and comforted me: establish me with
 thy free Spirit, that I may doe, and suffer thy will
 as thou wouldst have me.

Be mercifull to me, O Lord, for my Soule tru-
 steth in thee: yea, and in the shadow of thy wings
 will I make my refuge untill these calamities be o-
 verpast.

Arise to deliver me, make no long tarrying, O
 my God. Though thou killest me yet will I trust in
 thy mercy, and my Saviours merit.

I know that My Redeemer liveth; though thou
 madest me through the vale and shadow of death,
 yet will I fear none ill.

24. *Upon their denying His Majesty the Attendance of His Chaplains.*

WHen Providence was pleased to deprive Me of all other civil comforts and secular Attendants, I thought the absence of them all might best be supplied by the attendance of some of My Chaplains; whom for their Function I reverence, and for their Fidelity I have cause to love. By their learning, piety, and prayers, I hoped to be either enabled to sustaine the want of all other enjoyments, or better fitted for the recovery and use of them in Gods good time: so reaping by their pious help a spirituall harvest of grace amidst the thornes, and after the plowing of temporall crosses.

The truth is, I never needed or desired more the service and assistance of men judiciously pious, and soberly devout.

The solitude they have confined Me unto adds the Wildernesse to My temptation; For the company they obtrude upon Me, is more sad then any solitude can be.

If I had asked My Revenues, My Power, or the *Militia*, or any one of My Kingdomes, it had been no wonder to have been denied

those things, where the evil policy of men forbids all just restitution; lest they should confesse an injurious usurpation; But to deny Me the Ghottly comfort of My Chaplains, seems a greater rigour and barbarity then is ever used by Christians to the meanest Prisoners, and greatest Malefactors; whom though the Justice of the Law deprive of worldly comforts, yet the mercy of Religion allows them the benefit of their Clergie, as not aiming at onceto destroy their Bodies, and to damn their Souls.

But My Agonie must not be relieved with the presence of any one good Angel; for such I account a Learned, Godly and discreet Divine; and such I would have all Mine to be.

They that envy My being a King, are loath should be a Christian; while they seek to deprive Me of all things else, They are afraid I should save My Soul.

Other sence Charity it self can hardly pick out of those many harsh Repulses I received, as to that Request so often made for the attendance of some of My Chaplains.

I have sometime thought the Unchristianesse of those denials might arise from a displeasure some men had to see Me prefer My own Divines before their Ministers: whom, though I respect for that worth and piety which

which may be in them ; yet I cannot thin
them so proper for any present Comforters
Physitians; Who have (some of them at least
had so great an influence in occasioning the
calamities, and inflicting these wounds upon
Me.

Nor are the soberest of them so apt
that devotionall compliance, and juncture
hearts, which I desire to bear in those holy
Offices to be performed with Me, and for Me
since their judgments standing at a distance
from Me, or in jealousy of Me, or in opposi
tion against Me, their Spirits cannot so har
moniously accord with Mine, or Mine with
theirs, either in Prayer, or other holy duties
as is meet, and most comfortable ; who
golden Rule, and bond of Perfection consist
in that of mutuall Love and Charity.

Some remedies are worse then the disease
and some Comforters more miserable then
misery it self; when like *Jobs* friends, they seek
not to fortifie ones mind with patience, but
perswade a man by betraying his own Ignorance
cency, to despair of Gods mercy ; and by
Justifying their injuries, to strengthen their
hands, and harden the hearts of Insolent
enemies.

I am so much a friend to all Church-men
that have any thing in them becomming the
sacred Function, that I have hazarded Myselfe :

owne Interest, chiefly upon Conscience and Constancy to maintain their Rights; whom the more I looked upon as Orphans, and under the sacrilegious eyes of many cruell and rapacious Reformers; so I thought it my duty the more to appear as a Father, and a Patron for them and the Church. Although I am very unhandsomely requited by some of them; who may live to repent no lesse for My sufferings, then their own ungratefull errours, and that injurious contempt and meannesse, which they have brought upon their Calling and Persons.

I pity all of them, I despise none: onely I thought I might have leave to make choice of some for My speciall Attendants, who were best approved in My Judgement, and most suitable to My affection. For, I held it better to seem undevout, and to hear no mens prayers, then to be forced, or seem to comply with those petitions, to which the heart cannot consent, nor the tongue say *Amen*, without contradicting a mans own understanding, or betraying his own soul.

In Devotions, I love neither profane boldness, nor pious non-sense; but such an humble and judicious gravity as shewes the Speaker to be at once considerate to Gods Majesty, the Churches honour, and his owne Vile-ness; both knowing what things God allows

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him

him to ask, and in what manner it becomes a Sinner to supplicate the divine Mercy of himself, and others.

I am equally scandalized with all prayers that sound either imperiously, or rudely, and passionately; as either wanting humility to God, or charity to men, or respect to the duty.

I confesse I am better pleased, as with studied and premeditated Sermons, so with such publique Forms of Prayer, as are fitted to the Churches and every Christians daily & common necessities; because I am by them better assured, what I may joyn My heart unto, than I can be of any mans extemporary sufficiency, which as I doe not wholly exclude from publique occasions, so I allow its just liberty and use in private and devout retirements; where neither the solemnity of the duty, nor the modest regard to others, doe require so great exactnesse as to the outward manner of performance. Though the light of understanding, and the fervency of affection, I hold the maine and most necessary requisites both in constant, and occasionall, solitary, and social Devotions.

So that I must needs seem to all equal minded with as much Reason to prefer the service of My own Chaplains before that of their Ministers, as I do the Liturgy before their Director

In the one, I have been alwaies educated and exercis'd: In the other, I am not yet Catechized, nor acquainted: And if I were, yet should I not by that, as by any certain rule and Canon of devotion, be able to follow or find out the indirect extravagancies of most of those men, who highly cry up that as a piece of rare composure and use; which is already as much despised and disused by many of them, as the Common-prayer sometimes was by those men; a great part of whose piety hung upon that popular pin of railing against, and condemning the Government and Liturgie of this Church. But I had rather be condemned to the wo of *Væ soli*, then to that of *Væ vobis, Hypocritæ*, by seeming to pray what I do not approve.

It may be, I am esteemed by My Denyers sufficient of My Self to discharge My duty to GOD as a Priest, though not to Men as a Prince.

Indeed, I think both Offices, Regall and Sacerdotal, might well become the same Person; as anciently they were under one name, & the united rights of primogeniture: Nor could I follow better presidents, if I were able, then those two eminent Kings, *David* and *Salomon*; not more famous for their Scepters and Crowns, then one was for devout Psalms and Prayers; the other for his divine Parables

and Preaching: whence the one merited and assumed the name of a Prophet, the other of a Preacher. Titles indeed of greater honour, where rightly placed, then any of those the Roman Emperours affected from the Nations they subdued: it being infinitely more glorious to convert Souls to Gods Church by the Word, then to conquer men to a subjection by the Sword.

Yet since the order of Gods wisdom and providence hath, for the most part, alwaies distinguished the gifts and offices of Kings, of Priests, of Princes and Preachers; both in the Jewish and Christian Churches; I am sorry to find My Self reduced to the necessity of being both, or enjoying neither.

For such as seek to deprive me of Kingly Power and Sovereignty, would no lesse enforce me to live many months without all Prayers, Sacraments and Sermons, unlesse I become my own Chaplain.

As I owe the Clergy the protection of a Christian KING, so I desire to enjoy from them the benefit of their gifts and prayers, which I look upon as more prevalent then my own, or other mens; by how much they flow from minds more enlightened, and affections lesse distracted, then those which are encombred with secular affairs: Besides, I think a greater blessing and acceptableness at-

tends

tends those duties, which are rightly performed, as proper to, and within the limits of that calling, to which God and the Church have specially designed and consecrated some men. And however, as to that Spirituall Government, by which the devout Soul is subject to Christ, and through his merits daily offers it self and its services to God, every private believer is a King and Priest, invested with the honour of a Royall Priesthood; yet, as to Ecclesiasticall order, and the outward policy of the Church, I think confusion in Religion will as certainly follow every mans turning Priest or Preacher, as it will in the State, where every one affects to rule as King.

I was alwaies bred to more modest, and, I think, more pious Principles: the conscioufnesse to my spirituall defects make me more prize and desire those pious assistances, which holy and good Ministers, either Bishops or Presbyters, may afford me; especially in these extremities, to which God hath been pleased to suffer some of my Subjects to reduce me; so as to leave them nothing more, but my Life to take from me: and to leave me nothing to desire, which I thought might lesse provoke their jealousie and offence to deny me, then this, of having some means afforded me for my souls comfort and support.

To which end I made choyce of men, as no

way (that I know) scandalous, so every way eminent for their learning and piety, no less then for their Loyalty: nor can I imagine any exceptions to be made against them but only this, That they may seem too able and too well affected toward Me and My service.

But this is not the first service (as I count the best) in which they have forced Me to serve My Self; though I must confesse I bear with more grief and impatience the want of My Chaplains, then of any other My Servants; and next (if not beyond in some things) to the being sequestred from My Wife and Children, since from these indeed more of humane and temporary affections, but from those more of heavenly and eternall improvements may be expected.

My comfort is, that in the inforced (not neglected) want of ordinary means, God is wont to afford extraordinary supplies of his gifts and graces.

If his Spirit will teach Me and help My Infirmities in prayer, reading and meditation (as I hope he will) I shall need no other, either Oratour or Instructor.

To thee therefore, O my God, do I direct my now solitary prayers; what I want of others help, supply with the more immediate assistances of thy Spirit, which alone can both enlighten

enlighten My darknesse, and quicken My dullnesse.

O thou Son of righteousnesse, thou sacred Fountaine of heavenly light and heat, at once clear and warme my heart, both by instructing of me, and interceding for me: In thee is all fulnesse: From thee all sufficiency: By thee is all acceptance. Thou art company enough, and comfort enough: Thou art my King, be also my Prophet and my Priest. Rule me, teach me, pray in me, for me; and be thou ever with me.

The single wrestlings of Jacob prevailed with thee, in that sacred Duell, when he had none to second him but thy self; who didst assist him with power to overcome thee, and by a welcome violence to wrest the blessing from thee.

O looke on me thy Servant, in infinite mercy, whom thou didst once bleſs with the joynt & sociated Devotion of others, whose fervency might inflame the coldnesse of my affections towards thee; when we went to, or met in thy House with the voice of joy and gladnesse, worshipping thee in the unity of spirits, and with the bond of Peace.

O forgive the neglect, and not improving of those happy opportunities.

It is now thy pleasure that I should be as a Pelican in the wilderness, as a Sparrow on the house top, and as a coale scattered from all those pious glowings, and devout reflections, which might

best kindle, preserve, and encrease the holy fire of thy graces on the Alter of My heart, whence the sacrifice of prayers, and incense of praises, might be duly offered up to thee.

Yet O thou that breakest not the bruized Reed, nor quenchest the smoaking Flax, do not despise the weaknesse of My prayers, nor the smotherings of my soul in this uncomfortable lonenesse; to which I am constrained by some mens uncharitable denials of those helps, which I much want, and no lesse desire.

O let the hardnesse of their hearts occasion the softning of mine to thee, and for Them. Let their hatred kindle My love, let their unreasonable denials of My Religious desires the more excite My prayers to thee. Let their inexorable deafnesse encline thine ear to Me; who art a God easie to be entreated; thine ear is not heavy, that it cannot, nor yet thy heart hard, that it will not hear; nor thy hand shortned, that it cannot help Me thy desolate Suppliant.

Thou permittest men to deprive me of those outward means, which thou hast appointed in thy Church; but they cannot debar me from the communion of that inward grace, which thou alone breathest into humble hearts.

O make me such, and thou wilt teach me; thou wilt hear me, thou wilt help me: The broken and contrite heart I know thou wilt not despise.

Thou, O Lord canst at once make me thy Temple,

thy Priest, thy Sacrifice, and thine Altar; while
from an humble heart I (alone) daily offer up in
holy meditations, fervent prayers, and unfeigned
teares my self to thee; who preparest me for thee,
dwellest in me, and acceptest of me.

Thou O Lord didst cause thy secret supplies and
miraculous infusions, that the handfull of meal
in the vessel should not spend, nor the little oyle
in the cruse faile the Widow during the time of
drought and dearth.

O look on my soul, which as a Widow is now de-
solate and forsaken: let not those saving Truths I
have formerly learned, now fail my memory; nor
the sweet effusions of thy Spirit, which I have
sometime felt, now be wanting to My heart in this
famine of ordinary and wholesome food for the re-
freshing of My Soul.

Which yet I had rather chuse then to feed from
those hands who mingle My bread with ashes, and
My wine with gall; rather tormenting then teach-
ing me; whose mouths are proner to bitter reproches
of me, then to hearty prayers for Me.

Thou knowest, O Lord of truth, how oft they
wrest thy holy Scriptures to My destruction, (which
are clear for their subjection, and my preservation)
O let it not be to their damnation.

Thou knowest how some men under colour of
long prayers) have sought to devour the houses of
their Brethren, their King, and their God.

O Let not those mens balmes break my head, nor
their

their Cordials oppresse my heart, I will evermore pray against their wickedness.

From the poyson under their tongues, from the snares of their lips, from the fire, and the sword of their words ever deliver me, O Lord, and those Loyall and Religious hearts, who desire and delight in the prosperity of my soul, and who seek by their prayers to relieve this sadnesse, and multitude of thy servant, O my King and my God.

25. Penitentiall Meditations and Vowes in the Kings solitudes at Holmeby.

Give ear to My words O Lord, consider my Meditation and hearken to the voice of my cry, my King and my God, for unto thee will I pray.

I said in my haste, I am cast out of the sight of thine eyes; neverthelesse thou hearest the voice of my supplication, when I cry unto thee.

If thou Lord shouldst be extream to mark what is done amisse, who can abide it? But there is mercy with thee, that thou mayest be feared; therefore shall sinners flie unto thee.

I acknowledge my sins before thee, which have the aggravation of my condition; the eminency

of my Place adding weight to my offences.

Forgive, I beseech thee, my Personall, and my Peoples sins; which are so far mine, as I have not improved the power thou gavest me, to thy glory, and my Subjects good: Thou hast now brought me from the glory and freedom of a King, to be a Prisoner to my own Subjects: Justly, O Lord, as to thy over-ruling hand, because in many things I have rebelled against thee.

Though thou hast restrained my Person, yet enlarge my heart to thee, and thy grace towards mee.

I come far short of Davids piety; yet since I may equall Davids afflictions, give me also the comforts and the sure mercies of David.

Let the penitent sense I have of my sins, be an evidence to me, that thou hast pardoned them.

Let not the evils which I and my Kingdoms have suffered, seem little unto thee; though thou hast not punished us according to our sins.

Turn thee (O Lord) unto me; have mercy upon me, for I am desolate and afflicted.

The sorrows of my heart are enlarged; O bring thou me out of my troubles.

Hast thou forgotten to be gracious, and shut up thy loving kindnesse in displeasure?

O remember thy compassions of old, and thy loving kindnesse which have been for many generations.

I had utterly fainted, if I had not believed to see

see thy goodnesse in the land of the living.
 Let not the sins of our prosperity deprive us
 the benefit of thy afflictions.

Let this fiery triall consume the drosse, which
 long peace and plenty we had contracted.

Though thou continuest miseries, yet withdraw
 not thy grace: what is wanting of prosperity
 make up in patience and repentance.

And if thy anger be not to be yet turned away
 but thy hand of justice must be stretched out still.
 Let it I beseech thee be against me and my
 thers house; as for these sheep, what have they
 done?

Let my sufferings satiate the malice of mine
 and thy Churches Enemies.

But let their cruelty never exceed the measure
 of my charity.

Banish from me all thoughts of revenge, that
 I may not lose the reward, nor thou the glory of
 my patience.

As thou givest me a heart to forgive them, so
 I beseech thee do thou forgive what they have done
 against thee and me.

And now, O Lord, as thou hast given me a
 heart to pray unto thee; so hear and accept this Vow
 which I make before thee.

If thou wilt in mercy remember me, and
 my Kingdoms; in continuing the light of thy
 Gospel, and setting thy true Religion among
 Us.

In restoring to us the benefit of the Laws, and
the due execution of Justice.

In suppressing the many Schisms in Church,
and Factions in State.

If thou wilt restore me and mine to the Ancient
rights and glory of my Predecessours.

If thou wilt turn the hearts of my People to thy
self in Piety, to me in Loyalty, and to one another
in Charity.

If thou wilt quench the flames, and withdraw
the fuel of these Civil Wars.

If thou wilt blesse us with the freedom of pub-
lique Counsels, and deliver the Honour of Parlia-
ments from the insolency of the vulgar.

If thou wilt keep me from the great offence of
making any thing against my Conscience; and e-
specially from consenting to sacrilegious rapines,
and spoilings of thy Church.

If thou wilt restore me to a capacity to glo-
rifie thee, in doing good both to the Church and
State.

Then shall my soul praise thee, and magnifie thy
name before my People.

Then shall thy glory be dearer to me than my
Crowns; and the advancement of true Religi-
on both in purity and power be my chiefest
care.

Then will I rule my People with Justice, and my
Kingdoms with equity.

To thy more immediate hand I shall ever own

as the rightfull succession, so the mercifull
 stauration of my Kingdoms, and the glory
 them.

If thou wilt bring me again with peace, safe
 and honour, to my chiefeſt City, and my Parlia
 ment.

If thou wilt again put the Sword of Justice in
 my hand to punish and protect.

Then will I make all the world to see, and
 very Enemies to enjoy the benefit of this Vow and
 resolution of Christian charity, which I now make
 unto thee, O Lord.

As I do freely pardon for Christs sake those
 that have offended me in any kind; so my hand
 shall never be against any man to revenge what is
 past, in regard of any particular injury done
 to me.

We have been mutually punished in our na
 naturall divisions; for thy sake, O Lord, and for
 the love of my Redeemer, have I purposed this
 in my heart, That I will use all means in the way
 of amnesty and indempnity, which may most fully
 remove all fears, and bury all jealousies in for
 getfulness.

Let thy mercies be toward me and mine, as my
 resolutions of Truth and Peace are toward my
 People.

Hear my prayer, O Lord, which goeth not out
 of feigned lips.

Blessed be God, who hath not turned away my
 prayer.

prayer; nor taken his mercy from Me.

O My soul, commit thy way to the Lord, trust in him, and he shall bring it to passe.

But if thou wilt not restore Me and Mine, what am I that I should charge thee foolishly?

Thou O Lord hast given, and thou hast taken, blessed be thy name.

May My People and My Churches be happy, if not by Me, yet without Me.

26. Upon the Armies Surprisall of the King at Holmeby, and the ensuing distractions in the two Houses, the Army, and the City.

WHAT part God will have Me now to act or suffer in this new and strange scene of affaires, I am not much solicitous; some little practice will serve that man, who honestly seeks to represent a part of honesty and honour.

This surprize of Metels the world, that a KING cannot be so low, but He is considerable; adding weight to that Party where he appeares.

This

This motion, like others of the Times, seem excentrique and irregular, yet not well to be resisted or quieted: Better swim down such stream, then in vaine to strive against it.

These are but the struglings of those twins which lately one womb enclosed, the younger striving to prevaile against the elder; what the Presbyterians have hunted after, the Independents now seek to catch for themselves.

So impossible is it for lines to be drawn from the center, and not to divide from each other so much the wider, by how much they go farther from the point of union.

That the Builders of *Babel* should from division fall to confusion, is no wonder; but for those that pretend to build *Jerusalem*, to divide their tongues and hands, is but an illomen; and sounds too like the fury of those Zelots, whose intestine bitternesse and divisions were the greatest occasion of the last fatal destruction of that City.

Well may I change My Keepers and Prison, but not My captive condition, only with this hope of bettering, that those who are so much professed Patrons for the Peoples Liberties, cannot be utterly against the Liberty of their KING; what they demand for their own Consciences, they cannot in Reason deny to Mine.

In this they seem more ingenuous, then the
Preb

Presbyterian rigour; who, sometimes complaining of exacting their conformity to Laws, are become the greatest Exacters of other mens submission to their novel injunctions, before they are stamped with the Authoritie of Laws, which they cannot well have without My consent.

'Tis a great argument, that the Independents think themselves manumitted from their Rivals service, in that they carry on a businesse of such consequence, as the assuming My Person into the Armies custody, without any Commission, but that of their own will and power. Such as will thus adventure on a King, must not be thought over-modest, or timorous to carry on any design they have a mind to.

Their next motion menaces and scares both the two Houses and the City: which soon after acting over again that former part of tumultuary motions (never questioned, punished, or repented) must now suffer for both; and see their former sin in the glasse of the present terrours and distractions.

No man is so blind as not to see herein the hand of Divine Justice: they that by Tumults first occasioned the raising of Armies, must now be chastened by their own Army for new Tumults.

So hardly can men be content with one sin,
Q but

but add sin to sin, till the latter punish the former; such as were content to see Me and many Members of both Houses driven away by the first unsuppressed Tumults, are now forced to flie to an Army, or defend themselves against them.

But who can unfold the riddle of som mens justice? The Members of both Houses who at first withdrew (as My Self was forced to do) from the rudeness of the Tumults, were counted Desertors, and outed of their Places in Parliament.

Such as stayed then, and enjoyed the benefit of the Tumults, were asserted for the only Parliament-men: Now the Fliers from, and Forsakers of their Places, carry the Parliamentary power along with them; complain highly against the Tumults, and vindicate themselves by an Army: Such as remained and kept their stations, are looked upon as Abettors of tumultuary insolencies, and Betrayers of the freedom and honour of Parliament.

Thus is Power above all Rule, Order and Law; where men look more to present Advantages then their Consciences, and the unchangeable rules of Justice; while they are Judges of others, they are forced to condemn themselves.

Now the plea against Tumults holds good,

the Authours and Abettors of them are guilty of prodigious insolencies; when as before, they were counted as Friends and necessary Assistants.

I see Vengeance pursues and overtakes (as the Mice and Rats are said to have done a Bishop in *Germany*) them that thought to have escaped and fortified themselves most impregnably against it, both by their multitude and compliance.

Whom the Laws cannot, God will punish, by their own crimes and hands.

I cannot but observe this divine Justice, yet with sorrow and pity; for, I alwayes wished so well to Parliament and City, that I was sorry to see them do, or suffer, any thing unworthy such great and considerable bodies in this Kingdome.

I was glad to see them onely sacred and humbled, not broken by that shaking: I never had so ill a thought of those Cities as to despair of their Loyaltie to Me; which mistakes might eclipse, but I never believed malice had quite put out.

I pray God the storme be yet wholly passed over them; upon whom I look, a Christ did sometime over *Jerusalem*, as objects of my prayers and teares, with compassionate grief, foreseeing those severer scatterings which will certainly befall such as wantonly refuse to be gathered

gathered to their duty : fatall blindness frequently attending and punishing wilfull; so that men shall not be able at last to prevent their sorrows who would not timely repent of their sins; nor shal they be suffered to enjoy the comforts, who securely neglect the counsels belonging to their peace. They will find that Brethren in iniquity are not far from becoming insolent enemies, there being nothing harder then to keep ill men long in one mind.

Nor is it possible to gaine a faire period for those notions which go rather in a round and circle of fanisie, then in a right line of reason tending to the Law, the only center of publique consistency; whither I pray God at last bring all sides.

Which will easily be done, when we shall fully see how much more happy we are, to be subject to the known Laws, then to the various wils of any men, seem they never so plausible at first.

Vulgar compliance with any illegal and extravagant wayes, like violent motions in nature soon grows weary of it self, and ends in a refractory fullennesse : Peoples rebounds are oft in their faces, who first put them upon those violent strokes.

For the Army (which is so far excusable, as they act according to Souldiers principles, & interests,

interests, demanding Pay and Indempnity) I thinke it necessary, in order to the Publique peace, that they should be satisfied, as farre as is just; no man being more prone to consider them then My self: though they have fought against Me, yet I cannot but so farre esteem that valour and gallantry they have sometime shewed, as to wish I may never want such men to maintaine My selfe, My Lawes, and My Kingdomes, in such a peace, as wherein they may enjoy their share and proportion as much as any men.

But thou, O Lord, who art perfect Unity in a sacred Trinity, in mercy behold those, whom thy Justice hath divided.

Deliver Me from the strivings of My People, and make me to see how much they need my prayers and pity, who agreed to fight against me, and yet are now ready to fight against one another; to the continuance of my Kingdomes distractions.

Discover to all sides the wayes of peace, from which they have swarved: which consists not in the divided wils of Parties, but in the joynt and due observation of the Laws.

Make me willing to go whither thou wilt lead me by thy providence; and be thou ever with me, that I may see thy constancy in the worlds variety and changes.

Make me even such as thou wouldst have Me, that I may at last enjoy that safety and tranquillity which thou alone canst give me.

Divert I pray thee, O Lord, thy heavy wrath justly hanging over those populous Cities, whose plenty is prone to adde fewell to their luxury, their wealth to make them wanton, their multitude tempting them to security, and their security exposing them to unexpected miseries.

Give them eyes to see, hearts to consider, will to embrace, and courage to act those things which belong to thy glory and the publique peace; lest their calamity come upon them as an armed man.

Teach them, That they cannot want enemies who abound in sinne, nor shall they be long undisarmed and un-destroyed, who with a high hand persisting to fight against thee and the clear convictions of their own consciences, fight more against themselves, then ever they did against Me.

Their sinnes exposing them to thy Justice, their riches to others injuries, their number to Tumults, and their Tumults to confusion.

Though they have with much forwardnesse helped to destroy Me, yet let not My fall be their ruine.

Let Me not so much consider, either what they have done, or I have suffered, (chiefly at first by them) as to forget to imitate My crucified Redeemer,

deemer, to plead their ignorance for their pardon; and in my dying extremities to pray to thee O Father to forgive them, for they knew not what they did.

The tears they have denied me in my saddest condition, give them grace to bestow upon themselves; who the lesse they weep for me, the more cause they have to weep for themselves.

O let not my bloud be upon them and their Children, whom the fraud and faction of some, not the malice of all, have excited to crucifie me.

But thou, O Lord, canst, and wilt (as thou didst my Redeemer, both exalt and perfect me by my sufferings; which have more in them of thy mercy, then of mans cruelty, or thy own justice.

27. *To the Prince of Wales.*

SON, if these Papers, with some others, wherein I have set down the private reflections of My Conscience, and My most impartiall thoughts, touching the chief passages which have been most remarkable, or disputed in My late Troubles, come to your hands, to whom they are chiefly design'd; they may be so far usefull to you, as to state your judgment aright in what hath passed; whereof a pious is the best use can be made; and they may also give you some directions, how to remedy the present distempers, and prevent (if God will) the like for time to come.

It is some kind of deceiving and lessening the injury of My long restraint, when I find My leasure and solitude have produced something worthy of My Self, and usefull to you: That neither you, nor any other, may hereafter measure My Cause by the Success; nor My Judgment of things by My misfortunes; which I count the greater by far, because they have so far lighted upon you, and some others, whom I have most cause to love as well as My Self; and of whose unmerited sufferings I have a greater sense then of Mine own.

But this advantage of wisdom you have above most Princes; that you have begun, and

and now spent some years of discretion, in the experience of Troubles, and exercise of patience, wherein Piety, and all Virtues, both Moral and Politicall, are commonly better planted to a thriving, as Trees set in winter, then in warmth and serenity of times; or amidst those delights, which usually attend Princes Courts in times of peace and plenty; which are prone, either to root up all plants of true Virrue and Honour; or to be contented only with some leaves, and withering formalities of them, without any reall fruits, such as tend to the Publique good; for which Princes should alwaies remember they are born, and by providence designed.

The evidence of which different education the holy Writ affords us in the contemplation of *David* and *Rehoboam*: The one prepared by many afflictions for a flourishing Kingdom: the other softned by the unparalel'd prosperity of *Salomon's* Court; and so corrupted to the great diminution, both for Peace, Honour and Kingdom, by those flatteries, which are as unseparable from prosperous Princes, as Flies are from fruit in Summer; whom adversitie, like cold weather, drives away.

I had rather you should be *Charls le Bon*, then *le Grand*, good, then great; I hope God hath designed you to be both, having so early put you into that exercise of his Graces and Gifts,

gifts bestowed upon you, which may be weeded out all vicious inclinations, and dispose you to those Princely endowments and employments, which will most gain the love, and intend the welfare of those, over whom God shall place you.

With God I would have you begin and end, who is King of Kings; the Sovereign Disposer of the Kingdoms of the World, who pulleth down One, and setteth up Another.

The best Government, and highest Sovereignty you can attain to, is, to be subject to him, that the Scepter of his Word and Spirit may rule in your heart.

The true glory of Princes consists in advancing Gods Glory in the maintenance of true Religion, and the Churches good; Also in the dispensation of civil Power with Justice and Honour to the publique Peace.

Piety will make you prosperous, at least it will keep you from being miserable: Nor is he much a loser, that loseth all, yet saveth his own soul at last.

To which center of true happinesse, God (I trust) hath, and will graciously direct all these black lines of affliction, which he hath been pleased to draw on Me, and by which he hath (I hope) drawn Me nearer to himself. You have already tasted of that Cup whereof I have

have liberally drank, which I look upon as Gods Physick, having that in healthfulnesse which it wants in pleasure.

Above all, I would have you, as I hope you are already, wel-grounded and settled in your Religion: The best profession of which, I have ever esteemed that of *the Church of England*, in which you have been educated; yet I would have your own Judgement and Reason now seal to that sacred bond which education hath written, that it may be judiciously your own Religion, and not other mens custome or tradition, which you professe.

In this I charge you to persevere, as coming nearest to Gods Word for Doctrine, and to the Primitive examples for Government, with some little amendment, which I have elsewhere expressed, & often offered, though in vain. Your fixation in matters of Religion will not be more necessary for Your souls then Your Kingdoms Peace, when God shall bring you to them.

For I have observed, that the Devil of Rebellion, doth commonly turne himself into an Angel of Reformation; and the old Serpent can pretend new Lights: When some mens Consciences accuse them for Sedition and Faction, they stop its mouth with the name and noise of Religion; when Piety pleads for peace and patience, they cry out Zeale.

So

So that, unless in this point You be well settled, You shall never want temptations to destroy You & Yours, under pretensions of Reforming matters of Religion; for that seems even to the worst of men, as the best and most auspicious beginning of their worst designs.

Where, besides the Novelty which is taken enough with the Vulgar, every one hath an affectation, by seeming forward to an outward Reformation of Religion, to be thought Zealous; hoping to cover those irreligious deformities, whereto they are conscious, by a severity of censuring other mens opinions or actions.

Take heed of abetting any Factions, or applying to any publick Discriminations in matters of Religion, contrary to what is in Your Judgment, and the Churches well settled; You partiall adhering, as Head, to any one Side, gainses You not so great advantages in some mens hearts (who are prone to be of their Kings Religion) as it loseth you in others; who think themselves, and their profession first despised, then persecuted by you: Take such a course as may either with calmness & charity quite remove the seeming differences & offences; by impartiality, or so order affairs in point of Power that you shall not need to fear or flatter any Faction. For if ever you stand in need of them, you must stand to their courtesie, you are undone.

The Serpent will devour the Dove: You may

never

never expect lesse of loyalty, justice, or humanity, then from thole, who engage into religious Rebellion; Their interest is alwayes made Gods; under the colours of Piety, ambitious policies march, not only with greatest security, but applause, as to the populacy; you may hear from them *Jacob's* voice, but you shall feele they have *Esau's* hands.

Nothing seemed lesse considerable then the Presbyterian Faction in *England*, for many years; so compliant they were to publick order: nor indeed was their Party great either in Church, or State, as to mens judgments: But as soon as discontents drave men into Sittings (as ill humours fall to the disaffected part, which causes inflamations) so did all, at first, who affected any novelties, adhere to that Side, as the most remarkable and specious note of difference (then) in point of Religion

All the lesser Factions at first were officious Servants to Presbyterie their great Master: till time and military success discovering to each their peculiar advantages, invited them to part stakes, and leaving the joynt stock of uniforme Religion, pretended each to drive for their Party the trade of profits and preferments, to the breaking and undeing not only of the Church and State, but even of Presbyterie it self, which seemed and hoped at first to have ingrossed all.

Let

Let nothing seem little or despicable to you in matters which concerne Religion and Churches peace, so as to neglect a speedy forming and effectual surpressing Errours and Schismes, which seeme at first but as a hand bredth, by seditious Spirits, as by strong winds are soon made to cover and darken the whole Heaven.

When you have done justice to God, your owne soul and his Church, in the professing and preservation both of truth and unity in the Religion: the next main hinge on which your prosperity will depend, and move, is, that of civil Justice, wherein the settled Laws of the Kingdomes, to which you are rightly Heir, are the most excellent rules you can govern by; which by an admirable temperament give very much to Subjects industry, liberty, and happinesse; and yet reserve enough to the Majesty and prerogative of any King, who owns his People as Subjects, not as Slaves; whose subjection, as it preserves their property, peace, and safety, so it will never diminish your Rights, nor their ingenuous Liberties, which consists in the enjoyment of the fruit of their industry, and the benefit of those Laws to which themselves have consented.

Never charge your Head with such a Crown, as shall by its heavinesse oppresse the whole body, the weaknes of whose parts cannot

to ye return any thing of strength, honour, or
nd u say to the Head, but a necessary debilitati-
edy n and ruine.

ars an Your Prerogative is best shewed and exer-
han ced in remitting, rather then exacting the ri-
win our of the Laws; there being nothing worse
who hen legall Tyrannie.

you In these two points, the preservation of esta-
cession lished Religion and Laws, I may (without
ity n anity) turn the reproach of My sufferings, as
a you to the worlds censure, into the honour of a
hat kind of Martyrdome, as to the testimonie of
the My own Conscience: The Troublers of My
Hein Kingdoms having nothing else to object a-
vern gainst Me but this, That I prefer Religion, and
t give Laws established before those alterations they
propounded.

, an And so indeed I do, and ever shall, till I am
e Ma convinced by better Arguments, then what
own itherto have been chiefly used towards Me,
who Tumults, Armies and Prisons.

erty I cannot yet learn that lesson, nor I hope
inil ever will you, That it is safe for a King to gra-
ties tie any Faction with the perturbation of the
frui Laws, in which is wrapt up the publique Inte-
Law rest, and the good of the Community.

uch How God will deal with Me, as to the remo-
eth all of these pressures and indignities, which
can is justice by the very unjust hands of some
no of My Subjects, hath been pleased to lay upon
Me,

Me, I cannot tell : Nor am I much solicitous what wrong I suffer from men, while I retain in My Soul what I believe is right before God.

I have offered all for Reformation and Safety, that in Reason, Honour and Conscience I can ; reserving only what I cannot confer unto, without an irreparable injury to My own Soul, the Church, and My People, and to you also, as the next and undoubted Heir of My Kingdoms.

To which if the divine Providence, to whom no difficulties are insuperable, shall in his due time after My decease bring you, as I hope he will ; My counsell and charge to you, is, That you seriously consider the former, real, or objected miscarriages, which might occasion My troubles, that you may avoid them.

Never repose so much upon any mans singular counsel, fidelity and discretion, in managing affairs of the first magnitude (that is, matters of Religion and Justice) as to create in your Self, or others, a diffidence of your own Judgment, which is likely to be alwaies more constant and impartiall to the interests of your Crown and Kingdom then any mans.

Next, beware of exasperating any Faction by the crossnesse and asperity of some men's passions, humours, or private opinions, employed by you, grounded only upon the difference

ferences in lesser matters, which are but the skirts and suburbs of Religion.

Wherein a charitable connivence and Christian toleration often dissipates their strength, whom rougher opposition fortifies; and puts the despised and oppressed Party, into such Combinations, as may most enable them to get a full revenge on those they count their Persecutors, who are commonly assisted by that vulgar commiseration, which attends all, that are said to suffer under the notion of Religion.

Provided the differences amount not to an insolent opposition of Lawes, and Government, or Religion established, as to the essentials of them, such motions and minings are intolerable.

Alwayes keep solid piety, and those fundamentall Truths (which mend both hearts and lives of men) with impartiall favour and justice.

Take heed the outward circumstances and formalities of Religion devour not all, or the best encouragements of learning, industry, and piety; but with an equall eye, and impartiall hand distribute favours and rewards to all men, as you find them for their reall good-ness both in abilities and fidelity worthy and capable of them.

This will be sure to gaine You the hearts of

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the best, and the most too; who, though they be not good themselves, yet are glad to see the severer wayes of vertue at any time sweetned by temporall rewards.

I have, you see, conflicted with different and opposite Factions; (for so I must needs call and count all those, that act in an any conformity to the Laws established, in Church and State) no sooner have they by force subdued what they counted their Common Enemy (that is, all those that adhered to the Lawes and to Me) and are secure from that fear, but they are divided to so high a rivalry, as sets them more at defiance against each other, then against their first Antagonists.

Time will dissipate all factions, when once the rough hornes of private mens covetous and ambitious designs, shall discover themselves; which were at first wrapt up & hidden under the soft and smooth pretensions of Religion, Reformation, and Liberty: As the Wolfe is no lesse cruell, so he will be more justly hated, when he shall appear no better then a Wolf under Sheeps clothing.

But as for the seduced Trainee of the Vulgar, who in their simplicity follow those disguises; My charge and counsell to You, is That as You need no palliations for any designs, (as other men) so that you study really to exceed (in true and constant demonstration

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tions of goodnesse, pietie, and virtue, towards the People) even all those men, that make the greatest noise and ostentations of Religion; so you shall neither fear any detection (as they do, who have but the face and mask of goodnesse) nor shall you frustrate the just expectations of Your People; who cannot in Reason promise themselves so much good from any Subjects novelties, as from the virtuous constancy of their KING.

When these mountains of congealed factions shall by the sunshine of Gods mercy, and the splendour of your virtues, bethawed and dissipated; and the abused Vulgar shall have learned, That none are greater Oppressours of their Estates, Liberties and Consciences then those men, that entitle themselves, The Patrons and Vindicators of them, only to usurp power over them: Let then no passion betray you to any study of revenge upon those, whose own sin and folly will sufficiently punish them in due time.

But as soon as the forked arrow of factious emulations is drawn out, use all Princely arts and clemency to heal the wounds; that the smart of the cure may not equall the anguish of the hurt.

I have offered Acts of Indempnity, and Oblivion, to so great a latitude, as may include

clude all, that can but suspect themselves to be any way obnoxious to the Laws; and which might serve to exclude all future Jealousies and insecurities.

I would have you alwaies propense to the same way, when ever it shall be desired and accepted, let it be granted, not only as an Act of State-policy and necessity, but of Christian charity and choyce.

It is all I have now left Me, a power to forgive those that have deprived Me of all; and I thank God, I have a heart to do it; and joy as much in this grace which God hath given Me, as in all My former enjoyments; for this is a greater argument of Gods love to Me, then any prosperity can be.

Be confident (as I am) that the most of all sides, who have done amisse, have done so, not out of malice, but mis-information, or misapprehension of things.

None will be more loyall and faithfull to Me and You, then those Subjects, who sensible of their Errours, and our Injuries, will feel in their own Souls most vehement motives to repentance; and earnest desires to make some reparations for their former defects.

As your quality sets you beyond any Duel with any Subject; so the noblenesse of your mind must raise you above the meditating any

any revenge, or executing your anger upon the many.

The more conscious you shall be to Your own merits upon your People, the more prone you will be to expect all love and loyalty from them; and to inflict no punishment upon them for former miscarriages: You will have more inward complacency in pardoning one, than in punishing a thousand.

This I write to you, not despairing of Gods mercy, and My Subjects affection towards you: Both which, I hope you will study to deserve; yet We cannot merit of God, but by his own mercy.

If God shall see fit to restore Me, and you after Me, to those enjoyments, which the Law have assigned to Us; and no Subjects without an high degree of guilt and sin can devert Us of; then may I have better opportunity, when I shall be so happy to see you in peace, to let you more fully understand the things that belong to Gods glory, your own honour, and the Kingdoms peace.

But if you never see My face again, and God will have Me buried in such a barbarous Imprisonment and obscurity (which the perfecting some mens designs require) wherein few hearts that love Me are permitted to exchange a word, or a look with Me; I do require and intreat you as your Father, and your KING,

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But if you never see My face again, and God will have Me buried in such a barbarous Imprisonment and obscurity (which the perfecting some mens designs require) wherein few hearts that love Me are permitted to exchange a word, or a look with Me; I do require and intreat you as your Father, and your KING,

that you never suffer your heart to receive the least check against, or dis-affection from the true Religion established in the Church of *England*.

I tell you, I have tried it, and after much search, and many disputes, have concluded it to be the best in the world; not only in the Community, as Christian, but also in the special notion, as Reformed; keeping the middle way between the pomp of superstitious Tyrannie, and the meannesse of fantastique Anarchie.

Not but that (the draught being excellent as to the main, both for Doctrine and Government in the Church of *England*) some lines, as in very good figures, may haply need some sweetning or polishing; which might here have easily been done by a safe and gentle hand; if some mens precipitancy had not violently demanded such rude alterations, as would have quite destroyed al the beauty and proportions of the whole.

The scandall of the late Troubles, which some may object and urge to you against the Protestant Religion established in ENGLAND, is easily Answered to them, or your own thoughts in this, That scarce any one who hath been a Beginner, or an active Prosecutor of this late War against the Church, the Laws, and Me, either was, or is a true Lover, Embracer,

Embracer, or Practiser of the Protestant Religion, established in *England*: which neither gives such rules, nor ever before set such examples.

'Tis true, some heretofore had the boldness to present threatening Petitions to their Princes and Parliaments, which others of the same Faction (but of worse Spirits) have now put in execution: but let not counterfeited and disorderly Zeal abate Your value and esteem of true Piety both of them are to be *knowne by their fruits*; the sweetness of the Vine and Fig-tree is not to be despised, though the Brambles and Thornes should pretend to bear Figs and Grapes, thereby to rule over the Trees.

Nor would I have you to entertain any aversion, or dislike of Parliaments; which in their right constitution with Freedom and Honour, will never injure or diminish Your greatness, but wil rather be as enterchangings of love, loyalty, and confidence, between a Prince, and his People.

Nor would the events of this black Parliament have been other then such (however much biaſſed by Factions in the Elections) if it had been preserved from the insolencies of popular dictates, and tumultuary impressions: The sad effects of which wil no doubt, make all Parliaments after this more cautious to preserve that Freedom, and Honour,

which belongs to such Assemblies (when once they have fully shaken off this yoke of vulgar encroachment) since the publike interest consists in the mutual and common good both of Prince and People.

Nothing can be more happy for all, then in faire, grave, and Honourable wayes to contribute their Councels in Common, enacting all things by publique consent; without tyranny or Tumults. We must not starve our selves, because some men have surfeited of wholsom food.

And if neither I, nor You, be ever restored to Our Right, but God in his severest justice, will punish My Subjects with continuance in their sin, and suffer them to be deluded with the prosperity of their wickednesse; I hope God will give Me, and You, that grace, which will teach and enable Us, to want, as well as to wear a Crown, which is not worth taking up, or enjoying upon sordid, dishonourable, and irreligious terms.

Keep You to true principles of piety, vertue, and honour, you shall never want a Kingdom.

A principle point of your Honour will consist in your deferring all respect, love, and protection to your Mother, My Wife; who hath many wayes deserved well of Me, and chie fly in this, that (having been a means to
blesse

blesse Me with so many hopefull Children ;
(all which, with their Mother, I recommend
to Your love and care) She hath been con-
tent with incomparable magnanimity and pa-
tience to suffer both for, and with Me, and
You.

My prayer to God Almighty is, (whatever
becomes of Me, who am, I thank God, wrapt
up and fortified in My owne Innocency, and
his Grace) that he would be pleased to make
You an Anchor, or Harbour rather, to these
tossed and weather-beaten Kingdoms ; a Re-
pairer to Your wisdome, justice, piety, and
valour, of what the folly and wickednesse of
some men have so far ruined, as to leave no-
thing entire in Church or State; to the Crown,
the Nobility, the Clergy, or the Commons;
either as to Laws, Liberties, Estates, Order,
Honour, Conscience, or lives.

When they have destroyed Me, (for I know
not how far God may permit the malice and
cruelty of My Enemies to proceed, and such
apprehensions some mens words and actions
have already given Me) as I doubt not but My
bloud wil cry aloud for vengeance to heaven;
so I beseech God not to poure out his wrath
upon the generality of the People, who have
either deserted Me, or engaged against Me,
through the artifice and hypocrisie of their
Leaders, whose inward horror will be their
first

first Tormenter, nor will they escape exemplary judgements.

For those that loved Me, I pray God, they may have no misse of Me, when I am gone; so much I wish and hope, that all good Subjects may be satisfied with the blessings of Your presence and virtues.

For those that repent of any defects in their duty toward Me, as I freely forgive them in the word of a Christian King, so I believe You will find them truly Zealous, to repay with interest that loyalty and love to You, which was due to Me.

In summe, what good I intended, doe You perform, when God shall give You power: much good I have offered, more I purposed to Church and State, if times had been capable of it.

The deception will soon vanish, and the Vizars will fall off apace; This mask of Religion on the face of Rebellion (for so it now plainly appears, since My Restraint and cruel usage, that they fought not for Me, as was pretended) will not long serve to hide some mens deformities.

Happy times, I hope, attend You, wherein Your Subjects (by their miseries) will have learned, *That Religion to their God, and Loyalty to their King, cannot be parted without both their sin and their infelicity.*

I pray God bleſſe you, and eſtabliſh your Kingdoms in righteouſneſſe, your Soul in true Religion, and your honour in the love of God, and your People.

And if God will have diſloyaltie perfected by My deſtruction; let My memory ever, with My NAME, live in you; as of your Father that loves you: and once a KING of three flouriſhing Kingdoms; whom God thought fit to honour, not only with the Scepter and Government of them, but alſo with the ſuffering many indignities, and an untimely death for them; while I ſtudied to preſerve the rights of the Church, the power of the Laws, the honour of My Crown, the privilege of Parliaments, the liberties of My People, and My own Conſcience, which, I thank God, is dearer to Me then a thouſand Kingdoms.

I know God can, I hope he yet will reſtore Me to My Rights: I cannot deſpair either of his mercy, or of My Peoples love and pity.

At worſt, I truſt I ſhall but go before you to a better Kingdom, which God hath prepared for Me, and Me for it, through My Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, to whoſe mercies I commend you and all Mine.

Farewell, till We meet, if not on Earth, yet in Heaven.

28. *Meditations upon Death, after
the Votes of Non-Addresses,
and His Majesties closer
Imprisonment in Carisbrook-
Castle.*

AS I have leisure enough, so I have cause more then enough to mediate upon, and prepare for My Death: for I know there are but few steps between the Prisons and Graves of Princes.

It is Gods indulgence, which gives Me the space; but Mans cruelty, that gives Me the sad occasions for these thoughts.

For, besides the common burthen of mortality, which lies upon Me, as a Man ; I now bear the heavy load of other mens ambitions, fears, jealousies and cruell passions; whose envy or enmity against Me makes their own lives seem deadly to them, while I enjoy any part of Mine.

I thank God, My prosperity made Me not wholly a Stranger to the contemplations of mortality.

Those are never unseasonable, since this is alwaies uncertain: Death being an eclipse, which

which oft happeneth as well in clear, as cloudy
daies.

But My now long and sharp adversitie hath
reconciled in Me those naturall Antipathies
between Life and Death, which are in all men,
that I thank God, the common terrours of it
are dispelled; and the speciall horror of it,
as to My particular, much allayed: for, al-
though My death at present may justly be re-
presented to Me with all those terrible aggra-
vations, which the policy of cruel and impla-
cable enemies can put upon it (affairs being
drawn to the very dregs of malice) yet I blesse
God, I can look upon all those stings, as un-
poysinous, though sharp; since My Redeem-
er hath either pulled them out, or given
Me the antidote of his Death against them,
which as to the immaturity, injustice, shame,
scorn and cruelty of it exceeded, whatever I
can fear.

Indeed, I never did find so much the life of
Religion, the feast of a good Conscience, and
the brazen wall of a judicious integrity and
constancy, as since I came to these closer con-
flicts with the thoughts of Death.

I am not so old, as to be weary of life; nor
(I hope) so bad, as to be either afraid to die,
or ashamed to live: True, I am so afflicted, as
might make Me sometime even desire to die;
If I did not consider, That it is the greatest
glory

glory of a Christians life to *die daily*, in conquering by a lively faith, and patient hopes of a better life; those partiall and quotidian deaths, which kill us (as it were) by piece-meals, and make us overlive our own fates; while We are deprived of health, honor, liberty, power, credit, safety or estate; and those other comforts of dearest relations, which are as the life of our lives.

Though, as a KING, I think My Self to live in nothing temporall so much, as in the love and good-will of My People; for which, as I have suffered many deaths, so I hope I am not in that point as yet wholly dead: Notwithstanding, My Enemies have used all the poyson of falsity, and violence of hostility to destroy, first the love and Loyaltie which is in My Subjects; and then all that content of life in Me, which from these I chiefly enjoyed.

Indeed, they have left Me but little of life, and only the husk and shell (as it were) which their further malice and cruelty can take from Me; having bereaved Me of all those worldly comforts, for which life it self seems desirable to men.

But, O My Soul! think not that life too long, or tedious, wherein God gives thee any opportunities, if not to do, yet to suffer with such Christian patience and magnanimity in

good Cause, as are the greatest honour of our lives, and the best improvement of our deaths.

I know that in point of true Christian valour, it argues pusillanimity to desire to die out of weariness of life; and a want of that heroick greatnesse of spirit which becomes a Christian in the patient and generous sustaining those afflictions, which as shadows necessarily attend us, while we are in this body; and which are lessened or enlarged as the Sun of our prosperity moves higher, or lower: whose totall absence is best recompensed with the Dew of Heaven.

The assaults of affliction may be terrible, like *Sampson's* Lyon; but they yeild much sweetness to those that dare to encounter and overcome them; who know how to overlive the witherings of their Gourds without discontent or peevishnesse, while they may yet converse with God.

That I must die as a Man, is certain; that I may die a King by the hands of My own Subjects, a violent, sodain, and barbarous death; in the strength of My years; in the midst of My Kingdoms; My Friends and loving Subjects being helpless Spectators; My Enemies insolent Revilers and Triumphers over Me, living, dying, and dead, is so probable in humane reason, that God hath taught Me not to hope
other-

otherwise, as to mans cruelty ; however, I despair not of Gods infinite mercy.

I know My Life is the object of the Devils & wicked mens malice; but yet under Gods sole custody & disposal : Whom I do not think to flatter for longer life by seeming prepared to die; but I humbly desire to depend upon him, & to submit to his wil both in life and death, in what order soever he is pleased to lay them out to Me. I confesse it is not easie for Me to contend with those many horrors of death, wherewith God suffers Me to be tempted; who are equally horrid, either in the suddenesse of a barbarous Assassination ; or in those greater formalities, whereby My Enemies (being more solemnly cruel) will, it may be, seeke to adde (as those did, who Crucified Christ) the mockery of Justice, to the cruelty of Malice : That I may be destroyed, as with greater pomp and artifice, so with lesse pity, it will be but a necessary policy to make My death appear as an act of Justice, done by Subjects upon their Sovereigne ; who know that no Law of God or Man invests them with any power of Judicature without Me, much lesse against Me : and who, being sworn and bound by all that is sacred before God and man, to endeavour My preservation, must pretend Justice to cover their Perjury.

It is, indeed, a sad fate for any man to have

his

his Enemies, to be Accusers, Parties and Judges; but most desperate, when it is acted by the insolence of Subjects against their Sovereign; wherein those who have had the chiefest hand, and are most guilty of contriving the publique Troubles, must by shedding My blood seem to wash their own hands of that innocent blood, whereof they are now most evidently guilty before God and man; and I believe in their own consciences too, while they carried on unreasonable demands, first by Tumults, after by Armies. Nothing makes mean spirits more cowardly-cruell in managing their usurped power against their lawfull Superiours, then this, the *Guilt of their unjust Usurpation*; notwithstanding, those specious and popular pretensions of Justice against Delinquents, applied only to disguise at first the monstrosnesse of their designs, who depaired, indeed, of possessing the power and profits of the Vineyard, till the Heir, whose right it is, be cast out and slain.

With them, My greatest fault must be, that I would not either destroy My Self with the Church and State by the Word; or not suffer them to do it unresisted by the Sword; whose covetous ambition, no Concessions of Mine, could ever yet, either satisfie or abate.

Nor is it likely they will ever think, that Kingdom of brambles, which some men seek

to erect (at once, weak, sharp and fruitless, either to God or man) is like to thrive till watered with the Royall bloud of those, whose right the Kingdom is.

Well, Gods will be done, I doubt not but My Innocency will find him both My Protector, and My Advocate, who is My only Judge, whom I own as King of Kings, not only for the eminency of his power and majesty above them; but also for that singular care and protection, which he hath over them: who knows them to be exposed to as many dangers (being the greatest Patrons of Law, Justice, Order and Religion on Earth) as there be either Men or Devils, which love confusion.

Nor will he suffer those men long to prosper in their *Babel*, who build it with the bones and cement it with the bloud of their Kings.

I am confident they will find Avengers of My death among themselves: The injuries I have sustained from them shall be first punished by them, who agreed in nothing so much as in opposing Me.

Their impatience to bear the loud cry of My bloud, shall make them think no way better to expiate it, then by shedding theirs, who with them, most thirsted after Mine.

The sad confusions following My destruction, are already presaged and confirmed to Me

Me by those I have lived to see since My Troubles; in which, God alone (who only could) hath many wayes pleaded My cause; not suffering them to go unpunished, whose confederacy in sin was their only security; who have cause to fear that God will both further divide, and by mutuall vengeance, afterward destroy them.

My greatest conquest of Death is from the power and love of Christ, who hath swallow'd up Death in the victory of his Resurrection, and the glory of his Ascension.

My next comfort is, that he gives me not only the honour to imitate his example *in suffering for righteousness sake*, (though obscured by the foulest charges of Tyranny and Injustice) but also, that charity, which is the noblest revenge upon, and victory over my Destroyers: By which, I thank God, I can both forgive them, and pray for them, that God would not impute my blood to them further then to convince them, what need they have of Christs blood to wash their souls from the guilt of shedding Mine.

At present, the wil of mine Enemies seems to be the only rule, their power the measure, and their successe the Exactor of what they please to call Justice; while they flatter themselves with the fancy of their own safety by my danger, and the security of their lives and de-

signes by My Death : forgetting, that as the greatest temptations to sin are wrapped up in seeming prosperities, so the severest vengeances of God are then most accomplished, when men are suffered to compleat their wicked purposes.

I bleſſe God, I pray not so much, that this bitter cup of a violent death may passe from Me, as that of his wrath may passe from all those, whose hands by deserting Me, are sprinkled, or by acting and consenting to My death are embrued with My blond.

The wil of God hath confined, and concluded Mine ; I shall have the pleasure of dying, without any pleasure of desired revenge.

This I think becomes a Christian toward his Enemies, and a King toward his Subjects.

They cannot deprive Me of more then I am content to lose, when God sees fit by their hands to take it from Me ; whose mercy I believe, will more then infinitely recompence what ever by mans injustice he is pleased to deprive Me of.

The glory attending My death wil far surpass all I could enjoy, or conceive in life.

I shall not want the heavy and envied Crownes of the world, when My God hath mercifully crowned and consummated his graces with glory ; and exchanged the shadows of My earthly Kingdomes among men,

for

for the substance of that heavenly Kingdom with himself.

For the censures of the world; I know the sharp and necessary tyranny of My Destroyers wil sufficiently confute the calumnies of tyranny against Me; I am perswaded I am happy in the judicious love of the ablest and best of My Subjects, who do not only pity and pray for Me, but would be content even to die with Me, or for Me.

These know, how to excuse My failings, as a man, and yet to retaine, and pay their duty to Me as their King; there being no religious necessity binding any Subjects by pretending to punish, infinitely to exceed, the faults and errors of their Princes; especially there, where more then sufficient satisfaction hath been made to the publike; the enjoyment of which, private ambitions have hitherto frustrated.

Others, I believe, of softer tempers, and lesse advantaged by My ruine, do already feel sharp convictions, and some remorse in their consciences; where they cannot but see the proportions of their evil dealings against Me in the measure of Gods retaliations upon them, who cannot hope long to enjoy their owne thumbs and toes, having under pretence of paring others nailes been so cruell as to cut off their chiefeft strength.

The punishment of the more insolent and

obstinate may be like that of *Korah* and his Complices (at once mutining against both Prince and Priest) in such a method of divine justice, as is not ordinary; the earth of the lowest and meanest people opening upon them, and swallowing them up in a just disdain of their il-gotten & worse-used Authority: upon whose report & strength they chiefly depended for their building and establishing their designs against Me, the Church, and State.

My chiefest comfort in death consists in my peace, which I trust, is made with God; before whose exact Tribunal I shall not fear to appear, as to the Cause so long disputed by the Sword, between Me and My causlesse Enemies: where I doubt not, but his righteous judgment wil confute their fallacy, who from worldly succeſſe (rather like Sophisters, then sound Christians) draw those popular conclusions for Gods approbation of their actions; whose wise providence (we know) oft permits many events, which his revealed Word (the only clear, safe, and fixed rule of good actions and good consciences) in no sort approves.

I am confident the Justice of My Cause and clearness of My Conscience before God & toward my People wil carry me, as much above them in Gods decision, as their succeſſes have lifted them above me in the Vulgar opinion:

who

who consider not, that many times those undertakings of men are lifted up to Heaven in the prosperity and applaus of the world, whose rise is from Hell, as to the injuriousnesse and oppression of the design. The prosperous winds which oft fill the sayls of Pirats, doth not justifie their piracy and rapine.

Look upon it with infinite more content and quiet of Soul, to have been worsted in my enforced contestation for, and vindication of the Laws of the Land, the Freedom and honour of Parliaments, the rights of my Crown, the just liberty of my Subjects, and the true Christian Religion in its Doctrine, Government and due encouragements, then if I had, with the greatest advantages of successe, overborn them all; as some men have now evidently done, whatever designs they at first pretended.

The praiers and patience of my Friends and loving Subjects will contribute much to the sweetning of this bitter cup, which I doubt not but I shall more cheerfully take, and think as from Gods hand (if it must be so) then they can give it to me, whose hands are unjustly and barbarously lifted up against me.

And, as to the last event, I may seem to owe more to my Enemies, then my Friends; while those will put a period to the sins and sorrows attending this miserable life; where-

with these desire I might still contend.

I shall be more then Conquerour through Christ enabling Me; for whom I have hitherto suffered: As he is the Author of Truth, Order and Peace; for all which I have been forced to contend against Errour, Faction and confusion.

If I must suffer a violent death, with My Saviour, it is but mortality crowned with martyrdom: Where the debt of death, which I owe for sin to nature, shall be raised as a gift of faith and patience offered to God.

Which I humbly beseech him mercifully to accept; and although death be the wages of My own sin, as from God, and the effect of others sins, as men, both against God and Me; yet as I hope My own sins are so remitted, that they shall be no ingredients to imbitter the cup of My death, so I desire God to pardon their sins, who are most guilty of My destruction.

The Trophees of My charity will be more glorious and durable over them, than their ill-managed victories over Me.

Though their sin be prosperous, yet they had need to be penitent; that they may be pardoned: Both which I pray God they may obtain; that My temporall death unjustly inflicted by them, may not be revenged by Gods just inflicting eternall death upon them: for I
look

look upon the temporall destruction of the greatest King, as far lesse deprecable then the eternall damnation of the meanest Subject.

Nor do I wish other, then the safe bringing of the ship to shore, when they have cast Me over-board: Though it be very strange, that Mariners can find no other means to appease the storm themselves have raised, but by drowning their Pilot.

I thank God, My Enemies cruelty cannot prevent My preparation; whose malice in this I shall defeat, that they shall not have the satisfaction to have destroyed My Soul with My Body; of whose salvation while some of them have themselves seemed, and taught others to despair, they have only discovered this, that they do not much desire it.

Whose uncharitable and cruel Restraints, denying Me even the assistance of any of My Chaplains, hath rather enlarged, then any way obstructed My accessse to the Throne of Heaven.

Where thou dwellest, O King of Kings; who fillest Heaven and Earth; who art the fountain of Eternall life, in whom is no shadow of death.

Thou O God art both the just Inflicter of death upon us; and the mercifull Saviour of us in it, and from it.

Yea,

Yea, it is better for us to be dead to our selves, and live in thee; then by living in our selves, to be deprived of thee.

O make the many bitter aggravations of my death, as a Man, and a King, the opportunities and advantages of thy speciall graces and comforts in my Soul, as a Christian.

If thou Lord wilt be with me, I shall neither fear nor feel any evil, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death.

To contend with death is the work of a weak and mortall man; to overcome it, is the grace of thee alone, who art the Almighty and immortal God.

O my Saviour, who knowest what it is to die with me as a Man; make me to know what it is to passe through death to life with thee my God.

Though I die, yet I know that thou my Redeemer livest for ever: Though thou slayest me, yet thou hast encouraged me to trust in thee for eternall life.

O withdraw not thy favour from me, which is better then life.

O be not far from me, for I know not how near a violent and cruell death is to me.

As thy Omnisceience, O God, discovers, so thy Omnipotence can defeat the designs of those, who have, or shall conspire my destruction.

O shew me the goodness of thy will, through the wickedness of theirs.

Thou

Thou givest Me leave as a man to pray, that this
cup may passe from Me; but thou hast taught Me
as a Christian by the example of Christ to adde,
not My will, but thine be done.

Tea Lord, let our wils be one, by wholly resol-
ving mine in thine: let not the desire of life in me
be so great, as that of doing or suffering thy will in
either life or death.

As I believe thou hast forgiven all the errorrs of
my life, so I hope thou wilt save me from the ter-
rors of my death.

Make me content to leave the worlds nothing,
that I may really come to enjoy all in thee, who hast
made Christ unto me in life, gaine; and in death,
advantage.

Though my Destroyers forget their duty to thee
and me, yet do not thou, O Lord, forget to be mer-
cifull to them.

For, what profit is there in my bloud, or in their
gaining my Kingdomes if they lose their owne
Souls.

Such as have not only resisted My just Power,
but wholly usnrped and turned it against my self,
though they may deserve, yet let them not receive to
themselves damnation.

Thou madest thy Son a Saviour to many, that
Crucified Him, while at once he suffered violently
by them and yet willingly for them.

O let the voice of his bloud be heard for my
Murderers,

Murtherers, louder then the cry of mine against them.

Prepare them for thy mercy by due convictions of their sin, and let them not at once deceive and damne their owne Soules by fallacious pretensions of Justice in destroying Me, while the conscience of their unjust usurpation of power against Me, chiefly tempts them to use all extremities against Me.

O Lord, thou knowest I have found their mercies to Me as very false, so very cruell; who pretending to preserve me, have meditated nothing but My ruine.

O deale not with them as bloud-thirsty and deceitfull men; but overcome their cruelty with thy compassion and My charity.

And when thou makest inquisition for My bloud, O sprinkle their polluted, yet penitent Soules with the bloud of thy Sonne, that thy destroying Angel may passe over them.

Though they think My Kingdomes on earth too little to entertain at once both them and Me, yet let the capacious kingdome of thy infinite mercy at last receive both Me and My enemies.

When being reconciled to thee in the bloud of the same Redeemer, we shall live far above these ambitious desires, which beget such mortall enmities.

When their hands shall be heavieſt, and cruel-
left

gainst upon Me, O let Me fall into the armes of thy
tender and eternall mercies.

That what is cut off of My life in this miserable
moment, may be repayr'd in thy ever-blessed eter-
nity.

Lord, let thy servant depart in peace, for My
eyes have seen thy salvation.

Vota dabunt, quæ bella negarunt.

F I N I S.

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PRAIERS,

Used by His


MAJESTIE

In the time of *His*
Sufferings.

Delivered to Doctor *Juxon* Bishop of
LONDON, immediately before
His Death.

Also a Letter from the *PRINCE.*

A Praier in time of Captivitie.

 Powerfull and Eternall God! to whom nothing is so great, that it may resist; or so small, that it is contemned; look upon My miserie with Thine eie of mercy; and let thine infinite Power vouchsafe to limit out some proportion of deliverance unto Me, as to Thee shall seem most convenient: let not Injury, O Lord, triumph over Me; and let my faults by Thy hand be corrected; and make not my unjust enemies the ministers of thy Justice:

ftice: But yet My God, if in Thy wisdom this
 be the aptest chastisement for My unexcusable
 transgressions; if this ingratefull bondage be
 fittest for My over-high desires; if the pride
 of My (not enough humble) heart be
 thus to be broken; O Lord, I yeild unto Thy
 will, and cheerfully imbrace what sorrow thou
 wilt have Me suffer: Only thus much let Me
 crave of Thee (Let My craving, O Lord, be ac-
 cepted of, since it proceeds from Thee) that,
 by Thy goodness which is Thy self, Thou wilt
 suffer some beams of Thy Majestie so to shine
 in My mind, that I, who in My greatest Af-
 flictions acknowledge it My Noblest Title to
 be Thy Creature, may still depend confident-
 ly on Thee. Let Calamitie be the exercise, but
 not the overthrow of My Virtue. O let not
 their prevailing power be My destruction.
 And if it be thy will that they more and more
 vex Me with punishment; yet, O Lord, never
 let their wickedness have such a hand, but that
 I may still carry a pure mind, and stedfast re-
 solution ever to serve Thee, without fear or
 presumption; yet with that humble confi-
 dence which may best please Thee: So that
 at the last I may come to Thy eternall King-
 dom, through the Merits of Thy Son our al-
 lone Saviour Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

*Prayer and Confession made in and for the
times of Afflictions.*

Almightie and most mercifull Father, as
it is only Thy goodnes that admits of
Our imperfect Praiers; & the knowledge that
Thy mercies are infinite, which can give Us
any hope of Thy accepting or granting them;
so it is Our bounden and necessary duty to
confess Our sins freely unto Thee; and of all
men living, I have most need, most reason so
to do, no man having been so much obliged
by Thee, no man more grievously offending
Thee: that degree of knowledge which Thou
hast given Me, adding likewise to the guilt of
My transgressions. For was it through igno-
rance, that I suffered innocent blood to be shed
by a false pretended way of Justice? Or that I
permitted a wrong way of Thy Worship to
be set up in *Scotland*? And injured the Bishops
in *England*? O no; but with shame and grief
I confess, that I therein followed the perswa-
sions of worldly wisdom, forsaking the dictates
of a right-informed Conscience: Wherefore, O
Lord, I have no excuse to make, no hope left,
but in the multitude of Thy Mercies; for I
know My repentance weak, and My praiers
faulty: Grant therefore, mercifull Father, so
to strengthen My repentance, and amend My
praiers, that thou maist clear the way for

T Thine

Thine own mercies; to which O let thy Justice at last give place, putting a speedy end to My deserved afflictions. In the mean time give me Patience to endure, Constancy against Temptations, and a Discerning spirit to chuse what is best for thy Church and People, which Thou hast committed to my Charge. Grant this, O mercifull Father, for Thy Son Jesus Christ's sake, our only Saviour, *Amen.*

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O Most mercifull Father, though My sins are so many and grievous, that I may rather expect the effects of Thy anger, then so great a deliverance, as to free Me from My present great danger; yet, O Lord, since Thy Mercies are over all Thy works, and Thou never failest to relieve all those who with humble and unfeigned repentance come to Thee for succour, it were to multiply, not diminish My transgressions, to despaire of Thy heavenly favour: wherefore I humbly desire Thy Divine Majesty, that Thou wilt not only pardon all My sins, but also free Me out of the hands, and protect Me from the malice of My cruel Enemies. But if Thy wrath against My hainous Offences will not otherwayes be satisfied, then by suffering Me to fall under My present afflictions, Thy will will be done; yet, with humble importunitie, I do and shall never leave to implore the assistance of Thy heavenly Spirit, that My Cause, as I am Thy Vice-gerent, may not suffer through My weaknesse or want of courage. O Lord, so strengthen and enlighten all the faculties of My Minde, that with clearnesse I may shew forth Thy Truth, and manfully endure this bloody Triall; that so My sufferings here may not onely glorifie Thee; but likewise be a furtherance to My salvation hereafter. Grant this, O mercifull Father, for his sake who suffered for Me, even Jesus Christ the Righteous. *Amen.*



Munday 29th January, 1648.

A true Relation of the KING'S Speech to the Lady Elizabeth and the Duke of Gloucester, The day before His death.

HIS Children being come to meet Him, He first gave His blessing to the Lady Elizabeth; and bad her remember to tell her Brother James, when ever she should see him, that it was his Fathers last desire, that he should no more look upon Charles as his eldest Brother only, but be obedient unto him, as his Sovereign; and that they should love one another, and forgive their Fathers Enemies. Then said the King to her, Sweet-heart, you'l forget this: No (said she) I shall never forget it while I live: and pouring forth abundance of tears, promised Him to write downe the Particulars.

Then the King taking the Duke of Gloucester upon His Knee, said, Sweet-heart now they will cut off thy Fathers Head; (upon which words the Childe looked very stedfastly on Him) Mark Childe what I say, They will cut off My Head, and perhaps make thee a King: But marke what I say, You must not be a King, so long as your Brothers, Charles and James, do live; For they will cut off your Brothers Heads (when they can catch them) and cut off thy Head too at the last: and therefore I charge you, do not be made a King by them. At which the Childe sighing, said, I will be torn in pieces first. which falling so unexpectedly from one so young, it made the King rejoyce exceedingly.

Another



Another Relation from the Lady Elizabeths own Hand.

What the King said to me the 29th of January, 1648. being the last time I had the happiness to see Him; He told me, He was glad I was come, and although He had not time to say much, yet somewhat He had to say to me, which He had not to another, or leave in writing; because He feared their cruelty was such, as that they would not have permitted Him to write to me. He wished me not to grieve and torment my self for Him; for that would be a glorious death that He should dye; it being for the Laws and Liberties of this Land, and for maintaining the true Protestant Religion. He bid me read Bishop Andrews Sermons, Hookers Ecclesiastical Politie, and Bishop Lunds Book against the Iesues, which would ground me against Popery. He told me He had forgiven all His Enemies, and hoped God would forgive them also; and commanded Us, and all the rest of my Brothers and Sisters to forgive them. He bid me tell my Mother, that His thoughts had never strayed from Her, and that His love should be the same to the last. Withall He commanded me and my Brother to be obedient to Her. And bid me send His blessing to the rest of my Brothers and Sisters, with commendation to all His friends: so after He had given me His blessing I took my leave.

Further, He commanded Us all to forgive those

people, but never to trust them; for they had been most false to Him, and to those that gave them power, and he feared also to their own Souls: And desired me not to grieve for Him, for He should die a Martyr; and that He doubted not but the Lord would settle His Throne upon His Son, and that We should be all happier, then We could have expected to have been, if He had lived: With many other things, which at present I cannot remember. *Elizabeth.*

Another relation from the Lady Elizabeth.

THe King said to the Duke of Gloucester, that He would say nothing to him but what was for the good of his Soul: He told him, that He heard the Army intended to make him King; but it was a thing not for him to take upon him, if he regarded the welfare of his Soul; for he had two Brothers before him; and therefore commanded him upon His Blessing, never to accept of it, unless it redounded lawfully upon him: And commanded him to fear the Lord, and he would provide for him.

A Copy of a Letter which was
 sent from the *Prince* to the **K I N G**; Dated
 from the *Hague Jan. 23. 1648.*

Sir,

Having no means to come to the knowledge of
 Your Majesties present condition, but such as
 I receive from the Prints, or (which is as uncer-
 tain) Report, I have sent this Bearer Seamour
 to wait upon Your Majesty; and to bring Me an
 account of it: that I may withall assure Your Ma-
 jesty, I do not only pray for Your Majesty accor-
 ding to my Duty; but shall alwayes be ready to do
 all which shall be in My power, to deserve that
 blessing which I now humbly beg of your Majesty
 upon.

S I R,

Hague Jan.

23. 1648.

Your Majesties most
 humble and most obe-
 dient Son and Servant

C H A R L S.

The Superscription was thus,
For the King.

and the latter is 100.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 11th inst. in relation to the proposed purchase of the land for the proposed road. I have the honor to inform you that the same has been referred to the proper authorities for their consideration. I am, Sir, very respectfully,
 Yours, very truly,
 J. M. Smith

Domestic Violence

Page 1 of 1

21 JAN 2

For the King.

Majesties Reasons against the pretended Jurisdiction of the High Court of Justice.

HAVING already made My Protestations not only against the Illegality of this pretended Court, but also that no earthly power can justly call Me (who am your King) in question as a Delinquent, I would not any more open My mouth upon this occasion, more then to refer My self to what I have spoken, were I alone in this case concerned. But the duty I owe to God in the preservation of the true Liberty of My People, will not suffer Me at this time to be silent: For, how can any free-born Subject of *England* call life or any thing he possesseth his own, if power without right daily make new, and abrogate the old fundamental Law of the Land which I now take to be the present case. Wherefore when I came hither, I expected that you would have endeavoured to have satisfied Me concerning these grounds, which hinder Me to answer to your pretended impeachment; but since I see that nothing I can say wil move you to it (though Negatives are not so naturally proved as Affirmatives) yet I wil shew you the reason why I am confident you cannot judge Me, nor indeed the meanest man in *England*; for I wil not (like you) without shewing a reason, seek to impose a belief upon My Subjects.

There is no proceeding just against any man, but what is warranted either by Gods Laws, or the municipall Laws of the Country where he lives. Now I am confident, that this dayes proceeding cannot be warranted by Gods Law, for on the contrary

** Hereabout I was
stopt, & not suffered to
speak any more concerning
Reasons.*

the authority of obedience unto Kings is clearly warranted and strictly commanded both in the Old and New testament; which if denied, I am ready instantly to prove: And for the question now in hand, there it is said, *That where the word of a King is, there is Power, and who may say unto him what doest thou? Eccles. 8. 4.* Then for the Laws of this Land, I am no lesse confident, that no learned lawyer wil affirme that an Impeachment can lie against the King, by all going in his name; and one of their Maximes is, *that the King can do no wrong.* Besides the Law upon which you ground your proceedings, must either be old or new; if old, shew it, if

new

* *

new, tell, what authority warranted by the fundamental Laws of the Land hath made it and when. But how the House of Commons can erect a Court of Judicature, which was never one it self (as is wel known to all Lawyers) I leave to God and the World to judge; And it were sul as strange that they should pretend to make Laws without King or Lords House; to any that have heard speak of the Laws of England.

And admitting, but not granting, that the people of England Commission could grant your pretended power, I see nothing you can shew for that; for certainly you never asked the question of the tenth man of the Kingdome, and in this way you manifestly wrong even the poorest Plough man, if you demand not his free consent; nor can you pretend any colour for this your pretended Commission without the consent, at least of the major part of every man in England, of whatsoever quality or condition, which I am sure, you never went about to seek; so far are you from having it. Thus you see that I speak not for My own right alone, as I am your King, but also for the true Liberty of all My Subjects, which consists not in sharing the Power of the Government, but in living under such Laws, such a Government as may give themselves the best assurance of their lives, and propriety of their goods. Nor in this must or do I forget the Priviledges of both Houses of Parliament, which this daies proceedings doth not only violate, but likewise occasion the greatest breach of their publique faith that (I believe) ever was heard of, with which I am far from charging the two Houses: for all the pretended Crimes laid against Me, bear date long before this Treary at Newport, in which I have concluded as much as in Me lay, and hopefully expecting the two Houses agreement thereunto, I was suddenly surprized, and hurried from thence as a Prisoner; upon which accompt I am against my will brought hither, where since I am come, I cannot but to My power defend the ancient Laws and Liberties of this Kingdome, together with My own Just right; then for any thing I can see the Higher House is totally excluded.

And for the House of Commons, it is too wel known that the major part of them are detained or deterr'd from sitting, so as I had no other, this were sufficient for Me to protest against the lawfulness of your pretended Court. Besides all this, the peace of the Kingdome is not the least in My thoughts, and what hopes of settlement is there so long as power reigns without rule or Law, changing the whole frame of that Government under which

this Kingdome hath flourished for many hundred years, (nor will I say what will fall out in case this lawlesse unjust proceeding against Me do go on) and believe it the Commons of England will never thank you for this change, for they will remember how happy they have been of late years under the Reigne of Queen Elizabeth, and the King My Father, and My Self, untill the beginning of these unhappy troubles, and will have cause to doubt that they shall never be so happy under any new. And by this time it will be too sensibly evident, that the Armes I tooke up were onely to defend the fundamentall Laws of this Kingdome, against those who have supposed My power hath totally changed the ancient Government.

Thus having briefly shewed you the Reasons, why I cannot submit to your pretended Authority without violating the trust which I have from God, for the welfare and liberties of My People; I expect from you either clear Reasons to convince My judgement, shewing Me that I am in an error (and then truly I will readily answer) or that you will withdraw your proceedings.

An



An Epitaph upon King *CHARLES.*

SO fairs that stately Cedar; while it stood
That was the onely glory of the Wood;
Great *Charls*, thou earthly God, celestiaall Man,
Whose life, like others, though it were a span:
Yet in that span, was comprehended more
Than Earth hath waters, or the Ocean shore;
Thy heavenly virtues, Angels should rehearse,
It is a theam too high for humane Verse:
He that would know thee right, then let him
Upon Thy rare-incomparable Book, (look,
And read it or'e and or'e; which if he do,
Hee'l find thee *King*, and *Priest*, and *Prophet* too;
And sadly see our losse, and though in vain,
With fruitlesse wishes, call thee back again.
Nor shall oblivion sit upon thy Herse, (Verse.
Though there were neither Monument, nor
Thy *Suff'rings* & thy *Death* let no man name;
It was thy *Glory*, but the Kingdoms Shame.

J. H.



